

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF  
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 12. No. 10.—New Series.] OCTOBER 1, 1864.

{Price Fourpence Stamped  
Threepence Unstamped

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### DR. LIVINGSTONE ON AFRICA AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE distinguished African explorer and Missionary, the Rev. Dr. Livingstone, having returned from the Zambesi expedition to his own country for a time, and having been invited to deliver a lecture before the British Association at Bath, on the subject of Africa and the African slave-trade, read the following paper to a crowded meeting on Monday, the 19th ultimo. It contains so much that is important in connection with the present and the future of Africa, that we make room for it in our present issue.

#### THE LECTURE.

"Sir Roderick Murchison, on taking the chair, said their president, Sir Charles Lyell, had been pleased to ask him to take the chair on that occasion, and all who knew how long he (Sir R. Murchison) had been connected with Dr. Livingstone would be sure that he did so with the most sincere gratification. For many years he watched the toilsome efforts of his distinguished friend, and when, after traversing and re-traversing South Africa, he was received with acclamation after sixteen years' absence, besides his geographical discoveries, he came to them as an unwearied and zealous Missionary, who, by his kindness and goodness, had impressed the poor natives with the belief that he was the envoy of a great Queen who loved the black man. To the honour of the Government, they rewarded such services by appointing him consul at Quillimane, at the mouth of the Zambesi river, which he had

followed from nearly its source to the sea, and described as one of the finest falls in the world, surpassing Niagara. They would remember that a grand banquet was given to wish him God speed when he started from this country as consul, at which 2000 persons were present; but as honours like these (and Livingstone has been honoured through the length and breadth of the land) will not support a man and his family, who, bereaved of an affectionate wife, the brave and attached companion of her illustrious husband in his travels, he hoped, now the consulate which he occupied had been abolished, for reasons that Dr. Livingstone would explain, that Her Majesty's Government would grant some pension to the man who has laboured in so good a vocation in the heart of Africa for twenty years, and who, in his zeal to carry out his Mission, had expended much of the means he had acquired in the sale of his own work, in order to provide himself with a steam-vessel, drawing little water, and in which he could ascend the shallow river, and thus check the transit of slaves from the interior. The whole British nation would rejoice with him, if the great and popular minister who now directs public affairs should, in our gracious Queen's name, grant some befitting recompense to the good and well-beloved Livingstone. He had only further to explain that his friend was now in some degree affected in his voice, and as he might not be able to read the whole of his lecture, Mr. C. Markham, Secretary of the geographical section, would read a portion of it. Mr. Arrowsmith would point to the

positions on the great map. He might also add that the assistant-general secretary, Mr. Griffiths, has made such excellent arrangements, that whilst Dr. Livingstone is lecturing here, his lecture will be read in another place to many hundreds of associates who could not find room in the theatre; and that when this assembly was adjourned, his friend would move to the other room, and there thank that assembly, which is met to do him honour also.

"Dr. LIVINGSTONE then delivered the following Lecture: 'In order that the remarks I have to offer may be clearly understood, it is necessary to call to mind some things which took place previous to the Zambesi expedition being sent out; and most of you are, no doubt, aware that, previous to the discovery of Lake Ngami, and the well-watered country in which the Makololo dwell, the idea prevailed that a large part of the interior of Africa was composed of vast sandy deserts, into which rivers ran and were lost. In a journey from sea to sea, across the continent, somewhat north of the lake first discovered, it was found that there too the country was well watered. Large tracts of fertile soil were covered with forest, and occupied with a considerable population. We had, then, the form of the continent revealed to be an elevated plateau, somewhat depressed in the centre, with fissures at the sides, by which the rivers escaped to the sea; and this great fact in physical geography can never be referred to without mentioning the remarkable hypothesis by which the distinguished President of the Royal Geographical Society (Sir R. Murchison) clearly delineated it before it was verified by actual observation of the altitudes of the country and courses of the rivers. It was published in one of his famous anniversary addresses; and he has been equally happy in his last address in pointing out the ancient geological condition of the interior of this continent, as probably the oldest in the world; a fact we, who were on the spot, could but dimly guess. But he seems to have a faculty of collecting facts from every source, and concentrating them into a focus in a way no one else can accomplish. We understand it only after he has made it all plain in his study at home. Then followed the famous travels of Dr. Barth and Francis Galton; the most interesting discoveries of Lakes Zanganyika and Victoria Nyawya, of Captain Burton and Captain Speke, whose sad loss we all now so deeply deplore; and again, of Lake Shirwe and Nyassa; the discoveries of Van der Decken and several others; but last of all, the grand discovery of the main source of the Nile, which every Englishman must feel proud to know was accomplished by our countrymen, Speke and Grant. In all this exploration, the main object in view has not been merely to discover objects of nine days' wonder—to gaze and be gazed at by barbarians: I would not give a fig to discover even a tribe with tails!—but, in proceeding to the west coast, to find a path to the sea, whereby lawful commerce might be introduced, to aid Missionary efforts, was very much struck by observing the decided influence of that which is known as Lord Palmerston's policy, existed several hundreds of miles from the ocean. I found piracy had been abolished, and that the slave-

trade had been so far suppressed as to be spoken of as a thing of the past; that lawful commerce had increased from 20,000*l.* in ivory and gold dust to between two and three millions, one million of which was in palm-oil, to our own country; that over twenty Missions had been established, with schools, in which 12,000 pupils were taught; that life and property were secure on the coast, and comparative peace established in large portions of the interior; and all this was at a time when, from reading the speeches of well informed gentlemen at home, I had come to the conclusion that our cruisers had done nothing but aggravate the evils of the slave-trade. Well, not finding what I wished by going to the west coast, I came down the Zambesi to the east coast; and there I found the country sealed up. The same efforts had been made by our cruisers here as on the west coast. but in consequence of foreigners being debarred from entering the country, neither traders nor Missionaries had established themselves. The trade was only in a little wary, and gold dust, and slaves: just as it was on the west-coast before Lord Palmerston's policy came into operation. It seemed to me, therefore, that, as the Portuguese Government professed itself willing to aid in opening the country, and we had a large river, the Zambesi, which, being full when I first descended, seemed a famous inlet to the higher lands and interior generally. I knew the natives to be almost all fond of trading, and, when away from the influence of the slave-trade, friendly and mild; the soil fertile, and cotton and other products widely cultivated. It therefore appeared to me that if I could open this region to lawful commerce, I should supplement the efforts of our cruisers in the same way as has been done by traders and Missionaries on the west coast, and perform a good service to Africa and to England. To accomplish this was the main object of the Zambesi expedition, and in speaking of what was done, it is to be understood that Dr. Kirk, Mr. Livingstone, and others, composed it; and when I speak in the plural number I mean them, and wish to bear testimony to the zeal and untiring energy with which my companions worked. They were never daunted by difficulties nor dangers, nor hard fare, and, were their services required in any other capacity, might be relied on to perform their duty. The first discovery we made was a navigable entrance to the Zambesi, about a degree west of the Quillimane river, which had always been represented as the mouth of the Zambesi, in order, as some maintained, that the men of war might be induced to watch the false mouth, while slaves were quietly shipped from the real mouth. This mistake has lately been propagated in a map by the Colonial Minister of Portugal. On ascending Zambesi, we found that the Portuguese authorities, to whom their Government had kindly commended us, had nearly all fled down to the sea coast, and the country was in the hands of the natives, many of whom, by their brands, we saw had been slaves. As they were all quite friendly with us, we proceeded to our work, and ascended the river in a little steamer, which, having been made of steel plates, a material never before

tried, and with an engine and boiler the sweepings of some shop, very soon failed us. Indeed, the common canoes of the country passed us with ease, and the people in them looked back, wondering what this puffing asthmatic thing could mean. The crocodiles thought it was a land animal swimming, and rushed at it in hopes of having a feast. The river, for the first 300 miles, is from half a mile to three miles wide. During half the year the water is abundant and deep; during the other half, or the dry season, it is very shallow, but with properly-constructed vessels much might be made of it during the whole of ordinary years. We proceeded as soon as we could to the rapids above Zette, our intention having originally been to go up as far as the Great Victoria Falls, and do what we could with the Makololo, but our steamer could not steam a four-knot current. We then turned off to an affluent of the Zambesi, which flows into it about 100 miles from the sea: it is called the Shire, and, as far as we know, was never explored by any European before. It flows in a valley about 200 miles long and 20 broad. Ranges of hills shut in the landscape on both sides, while the river itself winds excessively among marshes: in one of these we counted 800 elephants, all in sight at one time. The population was very large: crowds of natives, armed with bows and poisoned arrows, lined the banks, and seemed disposed to resent any injury that might be inflicted. But, by care and civility, we gave them no occasion for commencing hostilities, though they were once just on the point of discharging their arrows. On a second visit they were more friendly, and the women and children appeared. We had so far gained their confidence that we left the steamer at Murchison's Cataract. Dr. Kirk and I, proceeding on foot to the N.N.E., discovered Lake Shirwa. This lake is not large: it is said to have no outlet, and this is probably the case, for its water is brackish: it abounds in fish, hippopotami, and leeches. The scenery around is very beautiful, the mountains on the east rising to a height of 8000 to 9000 feet. We were now among Manganja, a people who had not been visited by Europeans; and as I am often asked what sort of folk these savages are, I may answer, they were as low as any we ever met, except Bushmen, yet they all cultivate the soil for their sustenance. They raise large quantities of maize, or Indian corn, and another grain, which grows in a stalk 10 or 12 feet high, with grain very much like the hemp-seed given to canaries, and called by the Arabs *dura* (*Hælcus georghum*); another kind of grain (*tennisetum*); several kinds of beans, pumpkins, and melons; cucumbers, from the seeds of which a fine oil is extracted; cassava, from which our tapioca is made; ground-nuts, which yield an oil fit for cooking; castor-oil, with which they anoint their bodies; and tobacco and Indian hemp for smoking. The labour in the fields seemed to be performed by the whole family, men, women, and children being generally seen in the fields together. Each family had a patch of cotton, just as our forefathers had each a patch of lint, and this cotton was spun and woven by the men, while the women malted and ground the corn, and made the beer. Near

many of the villages furnaces were erected for smelting iron from the ore, and excellent hoes were made, very cheap. All were very eager traders, and very few were hunters, so they can scarcely be called savages, though without a doubt they were degraded enough. Their life has always appeared to me to be one of fear. They may be attacked by other tribes, and sold into Slavery; and the idea this brings is, that they will be taken away, fattened, and eaten by the whites. The slave-trader calls them beasts and savages, and they believe the slave-traders to be cannibals. They also live in fear of witchcraft, and suspected persons are frequently compelled to drink the ordeal water, which is just about as sensible a means of detecting witches as our former mode of ducking in a pond. If the suspected person vomits she is innocent; if not, guilty; and yet we laugh heartily at our forefathers believing that the woman who sank in the pond was innocent, and guilty if she swam; just as monomaniacs do with their illusions. Cultivating large tracts of land for grain, a favourite way of using the produce is to convert it into beer. It is not very intoxicating; but when they consume large quantities they do become a little elevated. When a family brews a large quantity the friends and neighbours are invited to drink, and bring their hoes with them. They let off the excitement in merrily hoeing their friend's field. At other times they consume large quantities for the same object as our regular toppers at home. We entered one village, and found the people all tipsy together. On seeing us the men tried to induce the women to run away; but the ladies, too, were, as we mildly put it, 'a little overcome,' and laughed at the idea of their running. The village doctor arranged matters by bringing a large pot of the liquid, with the intention, apparently, of reducing us to the general level. Well, the people generally, if we except the coast tribes, are very much like these, without the drunkenness. Wherever the tsetze exists the people possess no cattle, as this insect proves fatal to all domestic animals, except the goat, man, and donkey. Its bite does no harm to man nor to the donkey, though one we took through a tsetze district did die, probably from over fatigue. We made no discovery as to the nature of the curious poison injected by the insect, nor could we find out where it laid its eggs. Where the slave-trade is unknown the cattle are the only cause of war. The Makololo will travel a month for the sake of lifting cattle. This is not considered stealing; and when the question is put, 'Why should you lift what does not belong to you?' they return the Scotch answer, 'Why should these Makalaka, or black fellows, possess cattle if they can't defend them?' Having secured the goodwill of all the people below and adjacent to Murchison's Cataracts, we next proceeded further north, and discovered the Shire flowing in a broad gentle stream out to Lake Nyassa, about sixty miles above the cataracts. The country on each side of the river and lake rises up in what, from below, seems ranges of mountains; but when they have been ascended, they turn out to be elevated plateaux, cool and well watered with streams. To shew the differ-



ence of temperature, we were drinking the waters of the Shire at 84 degrees, and by one day's march up the ascent, of between 3000 and 4000 feet, we had it at 65 degrees, or 19 degrees lower. It felt as if iced. We had no trouble with the people. No dues were levied nor fines demanded. Though the Manganja were quite independent in their bearing towards us, and strikingly different from what they afterwards became, our operations were confined chiefly to gaining the friendship of the different tribes, and imparting what information we could, with a view to induce them to cultivate cotton for exportation. It has already been mentioned that each family had its own cotton patch: some of these were of considerable extent. One field, close to Zedzane cataract, I lately found to be 630 paces on one side, and the cotton was of excellent quality, not requiring re-planting oftener than once in three years, and no fear of injury by frost. After careful examination, I have no hesitation in re-asserting that we have there one of the finest cotton-fields in the world. In remonstrating with the chiefs against selling their people into Slavery, they justified themselves on the plea that none were sold except criminals. The crimes may not always be very great, but I conjecture, from the extreme ugliness of many slaves, that they are the degraded criminal classes; and it is not fair to take the typical negro from among them any more than it would be to place 'Bill Sykes,' or some of *Punch's* garotters, as the typical John Bull. For years I had been looking out for the typical negro, and never felt satisfied that I had got him, for many of them are the pictures of the Old Assyrians; others, barring colour, which we soon forget, closely resemble acquaintances at home. But Mr. Winwood Read, in his work, *Savage Africa*, seems to have lighted right on the head of the idea, in saying that no typical negro is seen in the portraits and monuments of the ancient Egyptians. When we had succeeded in gaining the goodwill of the people which crowded the whole Shire valley, the Mission under the late Bishop Mackenzie came into the country. Dr. Kirk had performed a journey from the Murchison Cataracts across to Zette, a Portuguese village upon the Zambesi. Slave-hunters then were sent along Dr. Kirk's route by the sanction of the present Government, and calling themselves "My children." The scamps! They joined themselves to another tribe called Ajawa, then in the act of migrating from the south east, and who had been accustomed to take slaves annually down to Quillimane, and other settlements on the coast. Furnishing the Ajawa with arms and ammunition, they found it easy to drive those who were armed only with bows and arrows before them. When Dr. Kirk and Mr. Charles Livingstone and I went up to shew Bishop Mackenzie on to the highlands, we met a party of these Portuguese slaves coming with eighty-four captives, bound and led towards Zette. The head of the party we knew perfectly, having had him in our employment in Zette. No force was employed, for even the slaves of the Governor knew that they were doing wrong, and fled, leaving the whole of the captives on our hands. Bishop Mackenzie received them gladly, and, in

a fertile country, with land free, in the course of a year or two, might, by training some sixty boys to habits of industry, have rendered his Mission independent, as far as native support was concerned. Having been engaged in the formation of two Missions in another part of the country, and having been familiar with the history of several, I never knew a Mission undertaken under more favourable auspices. This would be the opinion of all who have commenced similar enterprises in other parts, and it was that of the good Bishop himself. He was so thoroughly unselfish, and of such a genial disposition, that he soon gained the confidence of people, and this is the first great step to success. The best way of treating these degraded people must always be very much that which is pursued in ragged-schools. Their bodily wants must be attended to, as the basis of all efforts at their elevation. The slave-trade is the gigantic evil which meets us at every step in the country. We cannot move through any part without meeting captured men and women, bound, and sometimes gagged; so no good can be done if this crying evil is not grappled with. The good Bishop had some 200 people entirely at his disposal, and would soon have presented to the country an example of a free community, supported by its own industry, where fair dealing could be met, which undoubtedly would have created immense influence; for wherever the English name is known it is associated with freedom and fair play. Some seem to take a pleasure in running down their fellow-countrymen; but the longer I live I like them the better. They carry with them some sense of law and justice, and a spirit of kindness; and were I in a difficulty I should prefer going to an Englishman rather than to any other for aid. And as for Englishwomen, they do, undoubtedly, make the best wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters in the world. It is this conviction that makes me, in my desire to see Slavery abolished, and human happiness promoted, ardently wish to have some of our countrywomen transplanted to a region where they would both give and receive benefit, where every decent Christian Englishman, whether Churchman or Dissenter, learned or unlearned, liberal or bigoted, would certainly become a blessing, by introducing a better system than that which has prevailed for ages. We conducted Bishop Mackenzie and party up to the highlands, and, after spending three or four days with them, returned, and never had any more connection with the conduct of that Mission. We carried a boat past Murchison's Cataracts. By these the river descends at five different leaps, of great beauty, 1200 feet in a distance of about forty miles. Above that we have sixty miles of fine deep rivers, flowing placidly out of Lake Nyassa. As we sailed into this fine fresh-water lake, we were naturally anxious to know its depth—10, 12, 20, 30 fathoms—then no bottom with all our line, and John Neil, our sailor, at last pronounced it fit for the Great Eastern to sail in. We touched the bottom in a bay with a line of 100 fathoms, and a mile out could find no bottom at 116 fathoms. It contains plenty of fish, and great numbers of natives daily engage in catching them with nets, hooks, spears, torches, and



poison. The water remains about 720, and the crocodiles, having plenty of fish to eat, rarely attack men. It is from 50 to 60 miles broad, and we saw at least 225 miles of its length. As seen from the lake it seems surrounded by mountains, and from these, furious storms come suddenly down, and raise high seas, which are dangerous for a boat, but the native canoes are formed so as to go easily along the surface. The apparent mountains on the west were ascended last year, and found to be only the edges of a great plateau 3000 feet above the sea. This is cool, well watered, and well peopled with the Manganja and the Maori, some of whom possess cattle; and I have no doubt but that, the first hardships over, and properly housed and fed, Europeans would enjoy life and comfort. This part of Africa has exactly the same form as Western India at Bombay, only this is a little higher and cooler. Well, having now a fair way into the highlands by means of Zambesi and Shire, and a navigable course of river and lake of two miles, across which all the slaves for the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, as well as some for Cuba, went, and nearly all the inhabitants of this densely peopled country actually knowing how to cultivate cotton, it seemed likely that their strong propensity to trade might be easily turned to the advantage of our own country as well as theirs. And here I beg to remark, that, on my first journey, my attention not having then been turned to the subject, I noticed only a few cases of its cultivation, but in this I saw much more than I had previously any idea of. The cotton is short in the staple, strong, and like wool in the hand, as good as upland American. A second has been introduced, as is seen in the name being foreign cotton; and a third variety, of very superior quality, very long in the fibre, though usually believed to belong to South America, was found right in the middle of the continent, in the country of the Makololo. A tree of it was eight inches in diameter, or like an ordinary apple-tree. And all these require replanting not oftener than once in three years. There is no danger of frosts either, to injure the crops. No sooner, however, had we begun our labours among the Manganja than the African Portuguese, by instigating the Ajawa with arms and ammunition, to be paid for in slaves, produced the utmost confusion. Village after village was attacked and burned, for the Manganja, armed only with bows and arrows, could not stand before fire-arms. The bowman's way of fighting is to lie in ambush, and shoot his arrows unawares, while those with guns, making a great noise, cause the bowmen to run away. The women and children become captives. This process of slave-hunting went on for some months, and then a panic seized the Manganja nation. All fled down to the river, only anxious to get that between them and their enemies; but they had left all their food behind them, and starvation of thousands ensued. The Shire valley, where thousands lived, at our first visit was converted into literally a valley of dry bones. One cannot now walk a mile without seeing a human skeleton: open a hut in the now deserted villages, and there lie the unburied skeletons. In some I opened there were two skeletons, and

a little one, rolled up in a mat, between them. I have always hated putting the blame of being baffled upon any one else, from a conviction that a man ought to succeed in all feasible projects, in spite of everybody; and moreover, not to be understood as casting a slur on the Portuguese in Europe. The Viscount Lavradio, the Viscount de la Bandeira, and others, are as anxious to see the abolition of the slave-trade as could be desired; but the evil is done by the assertion in Europe of dominion in Africa, when it is quite well known that they were only a few half-castes, the children of converts and black women, who have actually to pay tribute to the pure natives. Were they of the smallest benefit to Portugal? If any one ever made a fortune, and went home to spend it in Lisbon, or if any pleasure whatever could be derived by the Portuguese Government from spending 5000*l.* annually on needy Governors, who all connive at the slave-trade, the thing could be understood. But Portugal gains nothing but a shocking bad name, as the first that began the slave-trade, and the last to end it. To us it is a serious matter to see Lord Palmerston's policy, which has been so eminently successful on the west, so largely neutralized on the east coast. A great nation like ours cannot get rid of the obligations to other members of the great community of nations. The police of the sea must be maintained; and should we send no more cruisers to suppress the slave-trade, we would soon be obliged to send them to suppress piracy, for no traffic engenders lawlessness as does this odious trade. The plan I proposed required a steamer on Lake Nyassa to take up the ivory trade, as it is by the aid of that trade that the traffic in slaves is carried on. The Government sent out a steamer, which, though an excellent one, was too deep for the Shire. Another steamer was then built at my own expense. This was all that could be desired, made to unscrew into twenty-four pieces; and the *Lady Nyassa*, or *Lady of the Lake*, was actually unscrewed and ready for conveyance. I do not mean to give up. If being baffled had ever made me lose heart, I should never have been here in the position which by your kindness I now occupy. I intend to make another attempt, but this time to the north of the Portuguese; and I feel greatly encouraged by the interest you shew, as it cannot be for the person, but from your sympathy for the cause of human liberty. It startles us to see a great nation of our own blood despising the African claims to humanity, and drifting helplessly into a war about him, and then drifting quite as helplessly into abolition and Slavery principles. Then, leading the Africans to fight, no mighty event like this terrible war ever took place without teaching terrible lessons. One of these may be, that, though "on the side of the oppressor there is power, there be higher than they." With respect to the African, neither drink, nor disease, nor Slavery can root him out of the world. I never had any idea of the prodigious destruction of human life that takes place subsequently to the slave-hunting till I saw it; and as this has gone on for centuries, it gives a wonderful idea of the vitality of the nation."

### ANTI-SLAVERY AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

In a recent Summary we referred to the rejection by the House of Representatives, after its acceptance by the Senate of the United States, of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, for the abolition of Slavery throughout the States. Some of our friends having intimated that it would be useful, as well as interesting, to record the votes of the majority and the minority, we have great pleasure in complying with their suggestion, by reproducing the following admirable article and analysis from the *New-York Tribune*:

"By the votes of a decided majority of the Representatives of the people it has been officially adjudged that Slavery, having incited and tenaciously upheld a gigantic conspiracy for the destruction of our national existence, ought to die the death of the wicked, and that the Federal Constitution should be so amended as never to authorize or tolerate its revival in any part of the Republic. The constitutional amendment to this effect originated in and passed the Senate by an overwhelming majority; but the House yesterday failed to concur, a decided majority, but not the requisite two-thirds, voting in the affirmative. The check thus encountered was caused solely by the election of a majority of the members in 1862 instead of 1863. Had they been chosen at the last regular election in each State respectively, the result would have been affected as follows:

"From Maine, Mr. L. D. M. Sweat votes to uphold Slavery. He was chosen in September 1862, by 127 majority. Last September his district went against him by over 1000 majority.

"From New Hampshire, Daniel Marcy was chosen by the 1st district in March 1863, by 80 majority in 24,038 votes. He is a Copperhead of the South-Carolina variety. Last spring his district went against him by over 2300 majority; but he votes on for Slavery.

"From Connecticut, James E. English votes to uphold Slavery, as he was chosen to do. He had 1030 majority in April 1863; but his district gave 346 majority against his party last April.

"From New York, Messrs. Moses F. Odell, Elijah Ward, Homer A. Nelson, John A. Griswold, and Francis Kernan, were chosen as Democrats in November 1862, and all but Mr. Griswold habitually vote on the side of Slavery. (Mr. Odell, we are glad to see, voted right yesterday.) Each of them was nominated and elected a Democrat; but the revolving year brought them severally into minorities in their respective districts last November, amounting, in the aggregate, to 4000; while Messrs. Winfield and Ganson, who together had over 5000 majority in 1862, were sustained in 1863 by majorities amounting, in the aggregate to less than 500. Yet all these, but Messrs. Griswold occasionally and Odell semi-occasionally, persist in voting to uphold Slavery.

"From Pennsylvania, Messrs. W. H. Miller, Alex. H. Coffroth, Arch. McAllister, John L.

Dawson, and Jesse Lazear, were chosen as Democrats in October 1862 by majorities adding up about 2500. Last October, in a most desperate struggle, and upon the heaviest vote ever polled in the State, the district of each went our way by an aggregate majority of 4000; yet these members keep on voting for Slavery just as though they had not seen the last returns.

"The case of Ohio is most flagrant of all. In the absence of at least 50,000 of her gallant sons in the defence of their country, and under the influence of national disaster and discouragement in the autumn of 1862, the State was carried by the Copperheads, who polled an aggregate majority of 5577; carrying fourteen of the nineteen Congress districts, by majorities ranging from 36 upward. Last fall, the panic had passed, and the soldiers voted, giving an aggregate Union majority of over 60,000 on the home vote, and nearly 40,000 on that of the soldiers, the aggregate being 101,099, on the heaviest poll ever known. Every district but two—Le Blond's and Finck's—gave Union majorities on the home vote last October; add the soldier's vote, and there is a majority against Slavery in every district but Le Blond's, and perhaps in that also. Yet Ohio gives fourteen votes habitually for fastening the Slave Power on the country for ever; and will continue to do so until the people can get at their misrepresentatives. Those votes have just turned the scale against the constitutional amendment.

"Indiana and Illinois—but especially the latter—evince changes as real, if not so signal, since the choice of their present members, as the States above enumerated; but the data are less complete in their cases than in the foregoing. Suffice it that, had the people been represented in the House in accordance with the latest expression of their views, the constitutional amendment would have triumphed by far more than the required two-thirds, and the legal and formal eradication of Slavery from the Republic would have been substantially assured.

"The self-styled Democrats have thus made up the great issue for the approaching canvass. They have chosen to take their stand and fight their fight on the maintenance and perpetuation of human Slavery, 'and cause of all our woe.' If they succeed, Slavery is to infest and poison the body politic for an indefinite future period; if they fail, it is to be constitutionally overthrown and abolished. Men who, in ordinary affairs, seem capable of imbibing an idea without the aid of surgery, gravely ask, in Congress and elsewhere, 'Why not let the States manage their internal affairs respectively?' as if Slavery had not proved itself the deadly, implacable foe of the Union, and thus incurred the penalty of treason. To vote to uphold it now is like voting to pension Lee, proffer the Chief Justiceship to Jeff. Davis, and send Longstreet Ambassador to France. We thank those through whose action, however intended, the choice between the life of Slavery and that of the Republic has been so clearly brought home to the business and bosoms of the American people.

"The list below is correct according to the record in the Washington papers. Had every member been present, the division would pro-

bably have been, Yeas 107, Nays 75—making a full House of 182 members. It would have required 122 votes to have made the two-thirds necessary to carry the measure. The list below should be preserved for reference, as there will be frequent occasion to know who voted to 'break every yoke and let the oppressed go free,' and who, on the other hand, voted to perpetuate and defend the accursed system which is the main-spring and support of this gigantic rebellion. The line between liberty and Slavery is here dis-

tinctly drawn, and we mean that the people shall know just where their representatives are to be found. The proposition voted upon was as follows:

"Sec. 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

## YEAS—95.

W. B. Allison, Iowa.  
John B. Alley, Mass.  
Oakes Ames, Mass.  
Lucien Anderson, Ky.  
Isaac N. Arnold, Ill.  
\*James M. Ashly, Ohio.  
Joseph Bailey, Pa.  
John D. Baldwin, Mass.  
Portus Baxter, Vt.  
Fernando C. Beaman, Mich.  
James D. Blaine, Me.  
Jacob B. Blair, W. Va.  
Henry T. Blow, Mo.  
George S. Boutwell, Mass.  
Samuel H. Boyd, Mo.  
Aug. Brandagee, Conn.  
John M. Broomall, Pa.  
Ambrose W. Clark, N.Y.  
Freeman Clark, N.Y.  
Amasa Cobb, Wis.  
Cornelius Cole, Cal.  
John A. J. Cresswell, Md.  
Thomas T. Davis, N.Y.  
Henry L. Dawes, Mass.  
Henry C. Deming, Conn.  
Nathan F. Dixon, R. I.  
Ignatius Donnelly, Min.  
John F. Driggs, Mich.  
Eph. R. Erkley, Ohio.  
Thos D. Eliot, Mass.  
John F. Farnsworth, Ill.  
†Reuben E. Fenton, N.Y.

Augustus Frank, N.Y.  
James A. Garfield, Ohio.  
Daniel W. Gooch, Mass.  
John A. Griswold, N.Y.  
James T. Hale, Pa.  
William Higby, Cal.  
Samuel Hooper, Mass.  
Giles W. Hotchkiss, N.Y.  
A. W. Hubbard, Iowa.  
John H. Hubburd, Ct.  
Calvin T. Hulburd, N.Y.  
Edward C. Ingersoll, Ill.  
Thos. A. Jenckes, R.I.  
Geo. W. Julian, Ind.  
John A. Kasson, Iowa.  
Wm. D. Kelley, Pa.  
Francis W. Kellogg, Mich.  
Orlando Kellogg, N.Y.  
De Witt C. Littlejohn, N.Y.  
Benj. F. Loan, Mo.  
John W. Longyear, Mich.  
James M. Marvin, N.Y.  
Joseph W. McClurg, Mo.  
Walter D. McDowd, Wis.  
Samuel F. Miller, N.Y.  
James K. Moorehead, Pa.  
Justin S. Morrill, Vt.  
Daniel Morris, N.Y.  
Amos Myers, Pa.  
Leonard Myers, Pa.  
Jessie O. Norton, Ill.  
Moses F. Odell, N.Y.

Charles O'Neil, Pa.  
Godlove S. Orth, Ind.  
James M. Patterson, N.H.  
Sidney Perham, Me.  
Frederick A. Pike, Me.  
Hiram Price, Iowa.  
Alex. H. Rice, Mass.  
John H. Rice, Me.  
Robert C. Schenck, Ohio.  
Glenni W. Scofield, Pa.  
Thomas B. Shannon, Cal.  
Ithamar C. Sloan, Wis.  
Green Clay Smith, Ky.  
Nathaniel B. Smithers, Del.  
Rufus P. Spaulding, Ohio.  
John F. Starr, N.J.  
Thaddeus Stevens, Pa.  
M. Russell Thayer, Pa.  
Francis Thomas, Md.  
Henry M. Tracy, Pa.  
Charles Upson, Mich.  
R. B. Van Valkenburg, N.Y.  
Elihu B. Washburne, Ill.  
Edwin H. Webster, Md.  
Killian V. Whaley, W. Va.  
Ezra Wheeler, Wis.  
Thomas Williams, Pa.  
A. Carter Wilder, Kan.  
James F. Wilson, Iowa.  
William Windom, Minn.  
Fred. E. Woodbridge, Vt.

## NAYS—64.

James C. Allen, Ill.  
William J. Allen, Ill.  
Sydenham E. Ancona, Pa.  
Augustus C. Baldwin, Mich.  
George Bliss, Ohio.  
James S. Brown, Wis.  
James Brooks, N.Y.  
John W. Chanter, N.Y.  
Alexander H. Coffroth, Pa.  
Samuel S. Cox, Ohio.  
James A. Cravens, Ind.  
John L. Dawson, Pa.  
Charles Dennison, Pa.  
John R. Eden, Ill.  
Joseph K. Edgerton, Ind.  
Charles A. Eldridge, Wis.  
James E. English, Conn.  
William E. Finck, Ohio.  
John B. Ganson, N.Y.  
Henry Grider, Ky.  
Aaron Harding, Ky.  
Henry W. Harrington, Ind.

Charles M. Harris, Illinois.  
Anson Herrick, N.Y.  
William S. Holman, Ind.  
Philip Johnson, Pa.  
William Johnson, Ohio.  
Martin Kalbfleisch, N.Y.  
Francis Kernan, N.Y.  
Austin A. King, Mo.  
Jesse Lazear, Pa.  
John Law, Ind.  
Frank C. Le Blond, Ohio.  
Alexander Long, Ohio.  
Robert Mallory, Ky.  
Daniel Marcy, N.H.  
Archibald McAllister, Pa.  
James F. McDowell, Ind.  
J. F. McKinney, Ohio.  
W. H. Miller, Penn.  
James R. Morris, Ohio.  
William R. Morrison, Ill.  
Warren T. Noble, Ohio.

John O'Neill, Ohio.  
George H. Pendleton, Ohio.  
John V. L. Pruyn, N.Y.  
William Radford, N.Y.  
James C. Robinson, Illinois.  
Andrew J. Rogers, N.J.  
James S. Rollins, Mo.  
Lewis W. Ross, Illinois.  
John G. Scott, Mo.  
John R. Steele, N.Y.  
William G. Steele, N.J.  
John D. Stiles, Pa.  
Myer Strouse, Pa.  
John T. Stuart, Ill.  
Lorenzo D. M. Sweat, Me.  
William H. Wadsworth, Ky.  
Elijah Ward, N.Y.  
Chilton A. White, Ohio.  
Joseph W. White, Ohio.  
†Charles H. Winfield, N.Y.  
Fernando Wood, N.Y.

\* Mr. Ashley subsequently voted in the negative, so as to be able to move a reconsideration.

† Mr. Fenton paired with Mr. Winfield, but their votes were afterward recorded.



## ABSENT OR NOT VOTING.

## UNION REPUBLICANS—10.

W. G. Brown, W. Va.  
H. Winter Davis, Md.  
Ebenezer Dumont, Ind.  
J. B. Grinnell, Iowa.

John R. McBride, Oregon.  
Theo. M. Pomeroy, N.Y.  
W. H. Randall, Ky.

Edward H. Rollins, N.H.  
W. B. Washburne, Mass.  
Schuyler Colfax (Spreckels), Ill.

## DEMOCRATS AND BORDER STATE—12.

Wells A. Hutchins, Ohio.  
Anthony L. Knapp, Ill.  
George Middleton, N.Y.  
Nehemiah Perry, N.J.

Dan. W. Voorhees, Ind.  
Benj. G. Harris, Maryland.  
George H. Yeaman, Ken.  
Homer A. Nelson, N.Y.

W. A. Hall, Mo.  
Henry G. Stebbins, N.Y.  
Samuel J. Randall, Pa.  
Benjamin Wood, N.Y.

## RECAPITULATION.

	Union	Dem.	Total.
In the affirmative . . . . .	91	4	95
In the negative . . . . .	0	64	64
Absent, or not voting . . . . .	10	12	22
Total . . . . .	101	80	131

## THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

WE gave in a former Number the "platforms" adopted at the Baltimore and Cleveland conventions, which nominated respectively for the Presidency, Mr. Lincoln and General Fremont. We complete the record by subjoining the "Chicago platform," which chose General McClellan, and which met for that purpose on the 29th August last :

## THE PLATFORM.

"Resolved, That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security, and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

"Resolved, That this Government does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or War Power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially injured, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public voice demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

"Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution, and a repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the means and power under our control.

"Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the

administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of State rights, the employment of unusual test oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms, are calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

"Resolved, That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty in respect to our fellow-citizens, who now and long have been prisoners of war in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation on the score alike of public and common humanity.

"Resolved, That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army who are, and have been, in the field, under the flag of our country, and in the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, regard, and kindness that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned."

It may be as well to append General McClellan's letter, accepting the nomination :

## REPLY OF GENERAL McCLELLAN.

"Orange, N.J., Sept. 8, 1864.

"Gentlemen,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, informing me of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, as their candidate at the next election for President of the United States. It is unnecessary for me to say to you that this nomination comes to me unsought. I am happy to know, that when the nomination was made, the record of my public life was kept in view. The effect of long and varied service in the army, during war and peace, has been to strengthen and make indelible in my mind and heart the love and reverence for the Union, Constitution, laws, and flag of our

country, impressed upon me in early youth. These feelings have thus far guided the course of my life, and must continue to do so to its end. The existence of more than one government over the region which once owned our flag is incompatible with the peace, the power, and the happiness of the people. The preservation of our Union was the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced. It should have been conducted for that object only, and in accordance with those principles which I took occasion to declare when in active service. Thus conducted, the work of reconciliation would have been easy, and we might have reaped the benefits of our many victories on land and sea. The Union was originally formed by the exercise of a spirit of conciliation and compromise. To restore and preserve it, the same spirit must prevail in our councils, and in the hearts of the people. The re-establishment of the Union in all its integrity is, and must continue to be, the indispensable condition in any settlement. So soon as it is clear, or even probable, that our present adversaries are ready for peace, upon the basis of the Union, we should exhaust all the resources of statesmanship practised by civilized nations, and taught by the traditions of the American people, consistent with the honour and interests of the country, to secure such peace, re-establish the Union, and guarantee for the future the constitutional rights of every State. The Union is the one condition of peace: we ask no more. Let me add, what I doubt not was, although unexpressed, the sentiment of the Convention, as it is of the people they represent, that when any one State is willing to return to the Union, it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights. If a frank, earnest, and persistent effort to obtain those objects should fail, the responsibility for ulterior consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union. But the Union must be preserved at all hazards. I could not look in the face my gallant comrades in the army and navy, who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labours, and the sacrifices of so many of our slain and wounded brethren, had been in vain; that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often perilled our lives. A vast majority of our people, whether in the army and navy, or at home, would, as I would, hail with unbounded joy the permanent restoration of peace, on the basis of the Union under the Constitution, without the effusion of another drop of blood. But no peace can be permanent without union. As to the other subjects presented in the Resolutions of the Convention, I need only say that I should seek, in the Constitution of the United States, and the laws framed in accordance therewith, the rule of my duty, and the limitations of executive power, endeavour to restore economy in public expenditure, re-establish the supremacy of law, and by the operation of a more vigorous nationality, resume our commanding position among the nations of the earth. The condition of our finances, the depreciation of the paper money, and the burdens thereby imposed on labour and capital, shew the necessity of a return to a sound, financial system; while the rights of citizens and the rights of States, and the binding authority of

law over President, army, and people, are subjects of not less vital importance in war than in peace. Believing that the views here expressed are those of the Convention and the people you represent, I accept the nomination. I realize the weight of the responsibility to be borne should the people ratify your choice. Conscious of my own weakness, I can only seek fervently the guidance of the Ruler of the universe, and, relying on his all-powerful aid, do my best to restore union and peace to a suffering people, and to establish and guard their liberties and rights.

"I am Gentlemen, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN,

"Hon. Horatio Seymour and others,  
Committee."

#### FOR PEACE IN AMERICA.

"WILL you kindly assist to promote peace in America," is the request with which a petition, bearing the same heading as this article, terminates. It is addressed to "the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the people of the United States, greeting," and a request is made that the sheets when filled up may be returned to Mr. T. B. Kershaw, Manchester, a gentleman who is—if we mistake not—prominently identified with the Manchester Society for promoting the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, and consequently not an impartial "peacemaker." As we wish our readers to judge for themselves of the character of this document, and as it is also desirable to place it on record, we reprint it in full:

#### "THE SOUTHERN PETITION.

"We are of the same race, and many of you are our brothers. Can we not, therefore, come to you as peacemakers, and address you as friends? We would ask you, Has there not been of strife and bloodshed, and misery and suffering, enough; and is it not time to cease the cruel war in which you are engaged? We believe there is not a Christian man or woman amongst us whose heart does not respond affirmatively to this question. With this conviction we wish to speak to you as plain men, using plain language. We have admired your free institutions, and have gladly witnessed your rise as a people to eminence in wealth and political power. You are of the Saxon blood, and we hoped that you would make the New World renowned for true greatness. You promised to become one mighty people and a great nation, famed for the liberties of its citizens, the triumphs of peace, and the conquests of its commerce. We felt that you were doing honour to the 'mother country.' When, therefore, this unfortunate war began, our hearts were more inclined towards you than towards your sister States, because we believed with you that the action of the South was but the work of a faction. The events of the struggle, however,

have convinced us that a more united people than those of the Southern States never rose up in defence of their rights.

"When you asserted that Secession was the work of disappointed ambition, and promised to quell it within sixty days, we accepted your assurances in good faith, and looked for the speedy restoration of peace. We did not wish to see the American Union broken up.

"But so far from this promise being fulfilled, (and your efforts to accomplish it have been great,) peace and the restoration of the Union are apparently more remote than ever.

"Surely there must be many now among you who share with us the conviction that it is utterly impossible to subdue the South, or to restore the American Union as it was in the past days of the Republic.

"You have tried sufficiently, and found the gulf between you and the seceded States to widen with the effort that is made to subdue them.

"Is it not time, then, to pause, and, after calmly reviewing all that you have accomplished, the distance which you have travelled from your well-known landmarks, and the difficulties and dangers that are yet before you,—is it not time, we ask, that you should take counsel together as to the best means of restoring peace?

"We cannot forget that the question of peace or war was never submitted to you for your serious consideration before hostilities had actually commenced; that they came upon you little by little; and that both Government and people found themselves plunged into this fearful contest almost unawares; nor have you as yet had an opportunity of consulting together in general Convention, for the purpose of making known your opinions and wishes about the war, or any of the vast issues growing out of it.

"The war has changed (for the present at least) the character of your Government. What has become of the freedom of speech, your free press, and the inestimable right of *habeas corpus*?

"What, permit us to ask, are the Southern people doing beyond following the precepts and example taught and practised by your fathers and theirs, when they withdrew their allegiance from the mother country, and asserted their right to establish a Government of their own?

"The Declaration of Independence, which you hallow and celebrate every fourth day of July, asserts, as self-evident, the right of the Southern people to set up a Government of their own.

"But we would ask, *Suppose you should at the end of another three years and a half succeed in subduing the South and restoring the Union by force of arms*, might you not then find out, when it was too late, that those pillars upon which rests your form of Government had been violently torn down, and that your own liberties had been buried in the ruins? If you will run the parallel between the South now and the colonies in 1776, and compare the course pursued by the North now, and the mother country then, we think you will discover some striking resemblances; and, among them, that with you now, as with the Crown then, rests the privi-

lege of giving peace to the American continent.

"Why not then, without further delay, recognise the duty which attaches to your privilege? We appeal to you in the name of Religion! Humanity! Justice! and Civilization! and believe that we shall not appeal in vain.

"Peace be unto you."

The bias of this plea for peace, on the basis of the integrity of Southern institutions, is self-apparent. From beginning to end there is a total ignoring of the origin of the war, the whole onus of which is cast upon the North. The term "United States" is applied solely to the Northern section, and it is assumed that the independence of the slaveholders' confederacy is actually an accomplished fact. No appeal to the people of the North, to abstain from prosecuting hostilities, is likely to be successful, which puts them in the wrong and the South in the right; and although almost superhuman efforts are being employed, and every device resorted to, in order to catch signatures to the petition, we are satisfied—notwithstanding the amount of sympathy which the Southern party has contrived to secure in certain quarters—that no statesman of the day, with a reputation to make, to lose, or to damage, is likely to be cajoled into the belief that the true public opinion of the country will be represented by the signers of this one-sided document. It appears to us that the appeal in favour of peace should be made to those who commenced the war, who alone are responsible for the dreadful carnage and desolation it has entailed, and who alone can put an immediate stop to it, by laying down their arms, and returning to their allegiance. It may be retorted that this, too, is a one-sided view. For the sake of argument, admitting this, we would rejoin, that if Mr. Kershaw and his coadjutors had been sincerely desirous of peace, they would have issued an appeal to the people of the United States as a whole; would have abstained from giving expression to partisan views, and especially from advocating the Southern doctrine of "State rights;" would have avoided pre-judging the ultimate issue of events yet in course of development, and have based their appeal upon the broad principles of "religion, humanity, justice, and civilization;" words which, as they now stand in the petition, are a bitter satire upon the context, and, in their present juxtaposition, howl at one another. Fervently, indeed, do we desire to see peace restored amongst our brethren of the American continent, and gladly would we promote any honest endeavour to bring it about; but we do not hesitate to declare, that the effort under notice is "a base device of the enemy," and that they who may be deluded into co-operating in it, so far from furthering the cause of peace, will be embittering the feud, adding to the actual



causes of dissension, and doing their individual part to create unfriendly feelings between the people of both countries.

The *Manchester Union and Emancipation Society* have, we observe, issued a counter-address, which we also append. It points out the studied omission, in the Southern appeal, of all reference to Slavery, and is otherwise much to the point.

"TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

"Fellow-countrymen,—Untruthful statements and unscrupulous efforts are still being put forth by the enemies of free government, free labour, and free education, to deceive and mislead you as to the facts and merits of that great struggle for freedom now going on between the loyal people of the United States and the rebellious slaveholders' Confederacy.

"In your name, but without your authority, the friends of the slavemongers in this country, united under the banner of Southern Independence Associations, have recently issued a Peace Manifesto addressed to the people of the United States.

"In that document it is audaciously asserted that 'Peace and the restoration of the Union are apparently more remote than ever;' and on the strength of this and similar baseless assumptions, you are made to call upon the people of the free and loyal States to pause and give up the struggle for freedom; that is, to recognise and sanction a new slave empire!

"This appeal is made for you in the name of 'religion, humanity, justice, and civilization,' without one word of protest against that irreligious, inhuman, iniquitous, and barbarous system of Slavery, which was the sole cause of the unholy war the Southern slaveholders have forced upon the Federal Government and the loyal people of America!

"We feel sure that your sanction will never be given to any proposition, even in the holy name of peace, that seeks to bolster up and sustain an infamous Slave Power, whose only claim to nationality is based on a system of legalized lust and oppression, that outrages alike the claims of 'religion, humanity, justice, and civilization.'

"Remember, that up to Mr. Lincoln's election, every Congress had a dominant party devoted to the interests of the Slave Power; and that this Southern oligarchy had so moulded the policy and directed the legislation of the nation as to strengthen its political influence abroad and increase the territorial area for the extension of Slavery at home. The first President and Cabinet especially identified with the advance of freedom have only held office since the 4th March 1861; and the following is a record of the progress of liberty during their administration:

- "1. Emancipation in Western Virginia.
- "2. Emancipation in Missouri.
- "3. Emancipation in the district of Columbia.
- "4. Emancipation in Maryland.
- "5. Slavery for ever prohibited in all the territories.
- "6. Kansas admitted as a Free State.
- "7. Colorado, Nebraska, and Nevada, provisionally organized as Free States.

"8. Idaho, Montana, Dacotah, and Arizona, organized as Free Territories.

"9. Hayti and Liberia (coloured people) recognised as Independent Republics.

"10. Three millions of slaves declared for ever free by Proclamation of the President, 1st January 1863.

"11. All Fugitive Slave Laws utterly abrogated.

"12. The Inter-States' Slave-trade abolished.

"13. Negroes admitted to equal rights in the United-States' Courts.

"14. Equality of the Negro recognised in the public conveyances of the District of Columbia.

"15. All Rebel States prohibited from returning to the Union with Slavery.

"16. Free labour established on numerous plantations in South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

"17. Free schools for the education of freed slaves in South Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Eastern Virginia.

"18. The wives and children of all slaves employed as freed men in military and other service of United States, declared free.

"19. Negroes, whether previously bond or free, enrolled as part of the military force of the nation.

"20. The loyal people of Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida (rebel States), seeking a return to the Union on the basis of freedom to all.

"21. An amendment of the Constitution to prohibit Slavery everywhere and for ever, passed in the Senate by two-thirds majority, and only failed of the requisite two-thirds majority in the House of Representatives by a few votes.

"22. The Republican National Convention at Baltimore, June 8th, 1861, declared unanimously for the re-election of Abraham Lincoln, and for an amendment of the Constitution to prohibit Slavery for ever.

"23. The Federal Government forbidden by Congress to employ any man as a slave in any capacity.

"24. One hundred and fifty thousand negroes, mostly freed slaves, in the pay and uniform of the Federal Government, as soldiers of freedom fighting for the Union.

"25. A new international treaty by the Federal Government with this kingdom for the suppression of the slave-trade.

"26. The passing of the Homesteads Bill, whereby the free and landless may become freeholders on the free soil of the Territories."

"The foregoing is only an inadequate summary of the facts that demonstrate the vast progress that has been made in the abolition of Slavery since Mr. Lincoln's inauguration in March 1861.

"The military progress of the Federal arms is equally astonishing, and proves to every impartial mind, that the Southern cause is as hopeless of ultimate success as it is infamous in its basis and arrogant in its aims. The following facts will illustrate the military situation:

"1. At the commencement of the war thirteen States were claimed by the leaders of

the rebellion, and sought to be disrupted from the Federal Government.

"2. Nearly half of these States have either declared their loyalty, or have been rescued from the military grasp of the Confederate armies.

"3. The Federal power has gained a firm military footing or a naval base of operations in each of the rebellious States.

"4. It has securely grasped the great Mississippi river, and established a powerful blockade over the few Southern ports still held by the rebels.

"5. So obvious is it that the Southern Confederacy must ultimately succumb to the just power and irrepressible spirit of the free North, that no Government has dared to recognise the would-be slave empire in the South."

"Bearing in mind these indisputable facts, we ask you, the free and liberty-loving people of the United Kingdom, not to be led away by crafty appeals, in the name of peace, in favour of a cause that excludes the possibility of all peaceful and righteous Government, and that embodies all the crimes and cruelties that offend heaven and desolate earth.

"The following words of President Lincoln, in an address on the 18th of August last, clearly indicate the principle involved in the present struggle: 'I wish it might be more generally and universally understood what the country is now engaged in. We have, as all will agree, a free Government, where every man has a right to be equal with every other man. In this great struggle this form of government and every form of human right is endangered if our enemies succeed. There is more involved in the contest than is realized by every one: there is involved in this struggle the question whether your children and my children shall enjoy the privileges we have enjoyed.'

"Not until Slavery is annihilated throughout the United States can come the longed-for era of peace—a true, holy, and lasting peace, founded on union, freedom, justice, and humanity.

"THE UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

"By order of the Executive, Sept. 6, 1864.

"Offices of the *Union and Emancipation*

"Society, 51 Piccadilly, Manchester."

#### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEM.

A NEGRO IN COURT.—*Nashville, Tenn. Aug. 2*—A circumstance of considerable moment in marking an era in this community took place on Saturday last. A negro, recently a slave, who had been employed by a white trader in town to work for him, and had been unable to get his pay, brought suit against him for his wages. The case was tried, and the negro recovered judgment for the amount claimed. Never before has a slave appeared as a plaintiff in a court in Tennessee, still less has he ever gained a judgment. The defendant shewed some dissatisfaction with the result, but was silenced by the suggestion of the plaintiff's counsel, that, if disposed to demur at that issue, he might be tried under the old law of Tennessee (still existing in the statute book), which makes it an offence punishable with imprisonment to traffic with a slave.—*Cor. N.-Y. Times.*

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1864.

### EDITORIAL.

WE are compelled to omit our usual Monthly Summary, in consequence of the pressure of more important matter.

### NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR Subscribers are solicited to take notice that their Subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Society's Funds, and to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, fall due on the 1st of January every year. They are respectfully requested to forward the amounts due, by Post-office Order, payable to L. A. Chamerovzow, at the Post-office, Moorgate Street, E.C., London.

Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* who desire to receive their copies stamped, are asked to intimate their wish, in order that the publisher may regulate his order for stamps accordingly. The neglect of this precaution exposes the publisher to a loss of stamps, which it is his desire to avoid in future.

### PEACE AND ANTI-SLAVERY.

AN article on the American war, in the September Number of the *Herald of Peace*, opens with the following passage:

"We have abstained for some months from offering any comments on the dreadful contest going on in America. It seemed a vain hope to make the still small voice of reason and religion heard amid the hurricane roar of passion that deafened all ears on the other side of the Atlantic. Even in this country there were many so blinded by the dangerous sophistry which pleads for doing evil that good may come, that they were impatient of all protest against the war, as though that were tantamount to a connivance at Slavery. We believe it was a grievous mistake, and that it would have been far better for the tried friends of the slave on this side of the water to have separated themselves wholly from all complicity in the war, and to have frankly and faithfully warned their American associates from the first, when they seemed inclined to appeal their cause to the wager of battle, that they were entering on a course pregnant with peril, into which they could not follow them with their sympathies and prayers. It is probable, indeed, that could they have foreseen the hideous proportions into which the thing has grown, they would have shrunk from countenancing it even by their silence. We may hope, at any rate, that those who were disposed to take offence when objections were

made to the war, have grown more amenable to reason, in view of the yawning abyss of horror which it has opened, and which seems to grow wider and wider every day, until it threatens to engulf the whole nation."

The direct reference made to the course of the "tried friends of the slave," which is censured with the earnestness of strong conviction and of inflexible fidelity to the cause of peace, demands a few remarks from us; our esteemed cotemporary having done us an injustice by unwittingly ignoring an important resolution adopted by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and published in this country and in the United States.

COPY OF MINUTE 146, PASSED ON THE  
25TH JANUARY 1861.

#### MINUTE.

"The position of affairs in the United States of America, and of the friends of the anti-slavery cause in relation thereto, was considered, and elicited an expression of deep interest and sympathy; and the Committee passed the following Resolution, which they instructed the Secretary to forward to the United States, for publication in the principal anti-slavery newspapers, and also to advertise in the *London Times* :

#### RESOLUTION.

"The Committee desire to express their warmest sympathy with the friends of freedom in the United States of America, and their deepest interest in the present critical position of the anti-slavery cause; and whilst they would deprecate any sacrifice whatever of principle, or any surrender of the natural and inalienable rights of man—altogether irrespective of colour—they would entreat their American brethren to exercise Christian forbearance in the trying position in which they are placed, and on no account to appeal to arms, by which course the nation may be involved in the horrors of civil war."

We think the above Resolution is a sufficient reply to the allegation of our not having warned our American brethren against the perils a recourse to the arbitrament of the sword would certainly entail, nor have we, in any one instance, done or said any thing which can be fairly construed into an approval of the war. If any aggression could justify war at all, assuredly Slavery would do so; but we have stated, over and over again, that we could not approve of the doing of evil that good might come; and a reference to our columns will shew, that in defence of the peace principle in connection with anti-slavery, we felt it our duty to comment somewhat strongly

upon Mrs. H. B. Stowe's complaint as to the want of sympathy on the part of British Abolitionists with the war policy of the Northern Government, which that lady alleged to be for the promotion of the abolition of Slavery. With the general sentiments in relation to war expressed in the remainder of the article under notice, we cordially concur; at the same time, recognising, as we do, the true cause of the deplorable contest in the United States to be Slavery, to perpetuate and extend which detestable institution the South took up arms and plunged into rebellion, we cannot unite in the view that the North is to blame for the continuance of the strife, nor accept the inferences drawn from the utterances of Wendell Phillips and H. W. Beecher, bearing in mind that they are not purely and simply abolitionists, but also political men, having each his party bias.

That the war—deeply as it is to be lamented—will destroy root and branch the particular form of Slavery now existing, we feel profoundly convinced, nor can we regard the war in any other light than as a penalty Divine Wisdom has inflicted upon the American nation at large for its long complicity in the crime of slaveholding. What is in store for the negro race, even in the United States, when the contest shall have terminated, we cannot pretend to foresee: perhaps much injustice, much oppression, much social suffering, much political subjection; but freedom, even under such circumstances, would be held preferable to Slavery; and the same spirit which animates the abolitionists, and prompts them now to seek the deliverance of the race from physical bondage, will doubtless manifest itself in earnest, unwearying efforts for the removal of all disabilities from those who belong to it, and for their elevation to the same social status in all respects as their white fellow-citizens. We believe the destiny of this ill-used race is in the hands of the Highest Power, and there we are content to leave it; but it has yet its Red Sea to pass through.

#### LORD BROUGHAM ON THE ABERDEEN ACT, AND THE AMERICAN WAR.

IN his inaugural address at the recent meeting of the Association for the promotion of Social Science, Lord Brougham made the following remarks upon the abolition of the African slave-trade, especially to Brazil, and upon the repeal of the Aberdeen Act:

"The measures which this country has taken for obtaining the concurrence of Foreign Powers in the great act of abolishing the slave-trade, form no exception to the general principle, as, beside the paramount claims of humanity and justice, we had a not very remote interest in the



concurrence of other States; and happily our efforts have proved successful in all but one instance, that of the Spanish share in this execrable traffic, as it is called, but, properly, this great crime. Spain received a large sum for the supposed expenses of her joining us, and for many years postponed performing her contract. At length she made a law professing to abolish, but which only protected her governors and other persons employed in Cuba, and these, with one or two honourable exceptions, took bribes from the slave-traders in the most open manner, inasmuch that one governor received no less than 100,000*l.* for permitting them to import negroes. Brazil has, since the Portuguese party ceased to rule, pursued a different course: although we were under the necessity of passing an Act in 1845, somewhat violently interfering with the Brazil commerce, at the time when the Portuguese protected the traffic—an Act so strong that its author, Lord Aberdeen, pledged himself to the Government at Rio to have it repealed as soon as the traffic ceased. That event has now been for above ten years completely an accomplished fact, the guilty commerce having entirely ceased through the efforts of the Government, with the hearty concurrence of the Legislature and of the community. The Aberdeen Act ought, therefore, to be at once repealed, and our amicable relations with Brazil, which that Act alone interrupts, would be restored, to the great benefit of our trade, which is of great value, with that country."

It is well that the venerable lord—the Nestor of Abolitionists—should, as opportunity offers, dwell upon the grand efforts the British nation has made for the total suppression of the African slave-trade, and no occasion could be more suitable for doing so, than that presented by the annual gathering of the Social Science philosophers; for the slave-trade, in its origin and consequences, violates the fundamental principles of society, and involves all the very worst of those social evils which it is the purpose of the Association to remove. The disinterested humanity of Great Britain in this particular matter wrung from the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Vienna the memorable declaration against the traffic in human beings, which resulted in making its extermination a settled point of European policy. The success of that policy must be measured by the reduction of the trade to the extent of two-thirds of what it was only twenty-five years ago, and by the treaties which the various Powers have entered into to prevent it. Much yet remains to be done; for Dr. Livingstone tells us that the Portuguese on the East Coast of Africa still connive at it, and that it is the curse of that part of the world; while it is not less deplorable to record that many thousands of its victims find their way into Cuba, with the direct connivance of the local authorities. With respect to the Aberdeen

Act, we have not yet heard a single valid argument in favour of its retention, though Mr. Christie has said a great many things against Brazil, in more or less of that querulous, acrid spirit which rendered him so unpopular at Rio. What the Brazilian Government has failed to do, with respect to the *emancipados*, does not detract from the credit due to its successful efforts to prevent the African slave-trade to the country under its jurisdiction. A distinct pledge was given by the Earl of Aberdeen to repeal the Act, in the event of one of two contingencies, namely, the conclusion of a slave-trade suppression treaty with Brazil, or the cessation of the traffic. The former the Brazilian Government declined, but the latter it effected, and for these last ten years no slaves from Africa have been landed. The purpose for which the treaty was suggested has been thoroughly accomplished, and Mr. Christie has over and again asserted that its revival is impossible. It is not easy to see how, under these circumstances, the British Government can consistently refuse to repeal an Act which is confessedly an outrageous interference with the independence of a nation. Brazil had a perfect right to decline making a slave-trade treaty. When the one with France expired, and the Imperial Government refused to renew it—though morally bound to do so by the spirit of former conventions—and when this same Power went so far as even to inaugurate a new slave-trade under the designation of "free African immigration," the British Government did not straightway pass an Act authorising British cruisers to seize French vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave-trade, and to carry them into our Vice-Admiralty Courts for adjudication. Had it done so, war between the two countries would have ensued. Yet this outrage upon Brazil was committed, and though attempts were made to justify it, no friend of international amity can desire its retention, nor is it probable that it will be permitted to disgrace much longer our Statute-book; Mr. Christie and his efforts to the contrary nevertheless notwithstanding.

His lordship's remarks upon the American question were as follows:

"And now, what a scene of misery and of crime does their recent history, and present condition present to the friends of social science, more horrid than any case known in modern, let us say Christian times! and with this sad peculiarity, that the whole people, instead of merely permitting, as in other cases, the crimes of their rulers, are themselves the active and willing agents in the work of merciless slaughter—of such wholesale bloodshed as never before disgraced the name of man. *Quæ est ista tam infesta ira, quam per duas acies fusus sanguis explere non potuerit? Adde huc populationem agrorum,*

*incendia villarum ac ruinas, omnia ferro ignique vastata. Hiscene ira expleri non potuit?* (Liv. vii. 30.) How the blame for the three horrors should be distributed it boots not to inquire. Some good men have been deceived by the notion that Slavery is the cause of the war—duped by the pretext that the North fights to free the slave, whereas, their emancipation edict was a mere belligerent measure, and an after-thought; they (as Bishop Wilberforce said) caring no more for the freedom of the black, than they do for that of the white. But it had been reserved for the later act of the tragedy to see that Government, when destitute of other troops, drive herds of the unhappy negroes to slaughter, with no more remorse than sportsmen feel in clearing a preserve. Yet, certain though it be that the North did not make war to free the slave, and that this could not have entered into their consideration when they began the contest for preventing the secession, it is no less certain that the maintenance of Slavery—their detestable institution—was partly the object of the South in fighting for their independence; and the friend of humanity, although feeling that we are not entitled to require a more sudden emancipation than we ourselves effected in our colonies, may yet earnestly hope that out of this cruel contest and its countless evils, the mercy of an all-ruling Providence, may draw the good, contemplated by neither party, of giving freedom to the slave. But whatever difference of opinion may prevail regarding the origin of this frightful civil war, there can be none as to the duty imposed on other nations of not taking part with either belligerent."

Lord Brougham's language, in referring to the bloodshed and desolation the war has entailed, is nothing too strong, for assuredly never has human slaughter on so vast a scale disfigured the annals of any nation. His remarks apply equally to both parties engaged, and it is perfectly true, that were not the people of each section—so far as we have means of ascertaining—"themselves the willing and active agents in the work," it could not go on. We are not ourselves in any doubt how to distribute "the blame for the three horrors" referred to by Livy; nor do we hesitate to re-assert that Slavery was the sole cause of the war. We do not mean to say that the North took up arms to free the slave. We have never said so. The Federal Government has never said so. The Abolitionists have never said so. What is affirmed and recognised is, that the South demanded guarantees for its peculiar institution, which the Constitution neither gave nor permitted to be given; that the North refused them; that the South, seeing it could not obtain them, and that the political anti-slavery party was gaining ground, and would eventually become abolitionist, set up various pretexts for seceding, and finally broke out into armed rebellion, for the sole purpose of establishing an independent Federation of States, having "Slavery" for

its "corner-stone;" and we assert, that had the North—as represented by Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party—violated its oaths, and yielded to the demands of the slaveholders, even at the last half-hour before the midnight, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO REBELLION, NO WAR. In this sense, then, we are justified in affirming Slavery to have been the sole cause of the war.

That the North resorted to arms to suppress an armed rebellion, and to maintain the "Union," and not to abolish Slavery, is undeniable; nor do we see how any one who asserts this fact can be justly held recreant to anti-slavery principles. It is not less true that emancipation came in as a belligerent measure. The very proclamation—strictly constitutional in its application to the slaves of rebels only—proves this. It may have been earlier in contemplation; indeed we believe it was; but it was essentially a war-measure, inasmuch as it was adopted in virtue of the powers extraordinary invested in the President, as Commander-in-chief, to be exercised "in times of armed rebellion," and not in virtue of any he possessed as a political ruler. But full justice must be done to Mr. Lincoln, and it is a fact, that had not his sentiments been in favour of the enslaved negro, he need not have exercised those "powers extraordinary," still less have sanctioned the abolition and anti-slavery enactments which were adopted by Congress; and, further, need not have taken the initiative in other measures, yet more radical, which have now exposed him to the hostility of an influential political party. When Mr. Lincoln declares that he will not be privy to any overtures of peace that do not embrace a return of the rebellious State to the Union "without Slavery" the war enters upon a new phase; and if his policy be adopted by the majority, the contest will no longer be, as it has hitherto been "for the Union," but for "Union and Emancipation." Were this even the case, however, we, as an anti-slavery party, committed not to promote emancipation by any other than strictly pacific means, could still do nothing that might be construed into a sanction of the war; for though we might feel convinced the calamity was permitted in fulfilment of the inscrutable designs of an all-ruling Providence, we must conscientiously, and to the end, persist in protesting against the commission of evil that good may come.

We are sure the bulk of the anti-slavery party in this country will rejoice to perceive that Lord Brougham has taken the opportunity of declaring that it is certain "the maintenance of Slavery was partly the object of the South in fighting for independence." We have shewn above in what sense the South fights for Slavery only; in

other words, that but for the purpose of perpetuating, extending, and consolidating "their detestable institution," the South would not have sought independence at all. We believe, therefore, that any difference between our own views and those of his lordship, as to the cause of the war, is more one of form than of substance, and we can only express the wish that his lordship had condescended sooner to be thus explicit, as it would have shielded him from attacks we were powerless to resist, in the absence of such a declaration.

With respect to the sacrificing of negro troops, we believe the military commanders have not done so with more recklessness than they have their white comrades. It has so happened that where the greatest sacrifice of negro life has taken place, the black troops were in excess of the white, and suffered in greater proportion, and we sincerely regret to see that one of the first duties which many of the freed negroes find themselves called upon to fulfil, in their capacity of citizens, is to expose their lives in defence of their newly-acquired freedom. But this is one of the evils of the war-system, and is no more a result of anti-negro feeling in the North, than the *Times'* denunciation of the shortcomings of the North with regard to the treatment of free coloured people there, is a proof of its love of the race, or of its philanthropy,

#### PARTY POSITION IN THE UNITED STATES.

So much has been made by the advocates of Secession in this country, of the recent division in the ranks of the Republican party, and the nomination of three candidates for the Presidency, and so much confusion prevails in the minds of those who desire the success of the Federal party, in consequence of the lack of precise information as to the actual position of parties, that we think it will be useful to make a few remarks explanatory thereupon.

The last party in the field is the one styled Democratic, but which, as the sense the word imports, involves a gross contradiction. The Democrats have always been the political allies of the South, have ruled the elections, and, in a word, done all the political dirty work of the slaveholders. From this class springs that strong prejudice against colour, which manifests itself by excluding coloured people from railway cars, places of public amusement or of worship, and which, were it left to operate without check, would enslave every free negro throughout the States. It is this party which threw out the resolution relating to the amendment to the Constitution in favour of emancipation recently proposed in Congress, at the sugges-

tion of Mr. Lincoln, and which, in every thing representing slaveholders' interests, feelings, and prejudices, is the exponent of the sentiments and policy of an oligarchy established upon the recognition of a right of property in human bone and sinew. There is no work too filthy that this party will not undertake, so it promises to promote Southern interests, and it is this pro-slavery tendency which we desire our readers to bear ever in mind, as being the characteristic of the Democratic party. The true "Tory" is a fossilized political animal in England; but what the old unadulterated Tory was to Liberalism in England, some fifty years ago, that, a hundred-fold intensified, is what the Democrat is to true Democracy or Republicanism in the United States at the present day. Our old Tories, however, had in their favour the prestige of ancestral dignity; of historical fame; of patriotic service; of nobility by descent—not the best kind it is true, but good in its way—and, above all, of gentlemanly feeling and principle. The Democrat has nought of them. He is simply a slaveholder, or a slaveholder's lacquey, and claims a right to act the Tory, only in virtue of his being the possessor of so many slaves, or of being the political domestic of some one owner of so much human property. The Democrat is, therefore, not a representative of the sublime principle of "democracy," but is the exponent, the representative, the political body-servant of despotism in its very worst form: and it is from this quarter that danger menaces true republican institutions in the United States.

We do not hesitate to assert, that the *Times*, and other journals who roar, or bleat, or bray against democracy and democratic institutions, are fully aware that American democracy, politically speaking, represents the absolutism of shackles, cow-hide, the auction-block, and so many dollars a-head for negro babies. Their condemnation of American democracy in this sense is therefore a condemnation of the slaveholding interest; hence, the articles penned in favour of the democratic party are unquestionably written to bolster up, as long as possible, the pro-slavery party; the aristocracy which rules with the cow-hide and the black code.

The elections of 1856, though they resulted in the defeat of Fremont, and the return of the author of the Ostend Manifesto, revealed to the Democrats a danger they had long foreseen, but had not yet sufficiently provided against. The Republican party had become a power. Defeated in 1856, it might defeat in 1860, and, the thin edge of the wedge inserted, pro-slaveryism must defend itself, instead of imposing the law. So long as the Free-soil party did not affect the elections, it was, if not despised, scarcely regarded; but in 1856 it assumed proportions



dangerous to democracy. Yet the platform of the party was far short of revolutionary. It proposed the prohibition of Slavery into The territories; the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the abolition of Slavery in the district of Columbia and other places under the jurisdiction of Congress. Now, the first might have been repealed, and the second and third adopted and executed, without endangering Slavery in the States where the institution already existed; but to restrict Slavery to its existing limits was ultimately to strangle it; to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law was to render slave property insecure, and to abolish it wherever Congress had power, was to sanction a precedent which might be most dangerous to "peculiar institutions:" hence the resistance to the Republican policy, terminating in war.

The Republican party—unfortunately divided, though we think not for long—embraces abolitionists who heretofore abstained from politics, and politicians who heretofore abstained from abolitionism, though anti-slavery short of it. The Cleveland Convention which nominated Fremont professes to be the exponent of the section of extreme emancipationists, who demand not only the abolition of Slavery, but that the freed negroes should at once exercise all the rights of citizens. Now this would be very well if it were possible to coerce any State into a recognition that all men are political as well as natural brothers; but, unfortunately, each State has the right to declare what shall constitute the qualification of citizenship, and no mention is made of colour, or, if mentioned, it is debarred on that account. The Fremont party is therefore existing on a mere cry, for they must and do know that no candidate for the Presidency would be elected whose policy contemplated direct interference with the prerogatives of the States with reference to their municipal institutions. We hope that the knowledge of a common danger will knit the whole Republican party, in which case democracy will be killed outright.

Mr. Lincoln is the representative of the party which, according to our view, embraces all the elements of strength. It has faithfully carried out the "platform" of 1856, and now takes the ground that the rebel States, having by their rebellion forfeited their rights of whatever kind, can be re-admitted to the Union only upon the conditions prescribed by the Executive; namely, unconditional surrender, and the abolition of Slavery. The latter is made a *sine qua non*, because Slavery is recognised as the cause of the war, and it is felt that to re-admit the rebel States without exacting that they re-enter the Union free, would be merely putting out the fire now, but leaving embers to smoulder under combustible materials, which must,

sooner or later, burst into flame. Between the Cleveland and the Baltimore platforms there is so slight a difference, that many hope the rumour of Fremont's withdrawal is correct, and that the Republican party, seeing how their divisions have stimulated the Democracy, will close up their ranks, and banish the nominee of the slaveholders from the field.

It is curious to note how, notwithstanding the "proclivities of the three parties," they all unite in declaring that the "Union" must be preserved: McClellan adds, "at all hazards," which, as he is a Democrat, may mean war at the hazard of retaining Slavery. It is this "breaker ahead" the Republicans must guard against; and it is to be hoped they have seen it in time. The "Union" cannot be preserved with Slavery, wherefore Slavery must go to the wall. The Secession leaders repudiate all notion of submission except on their own terms, which would not be submission at all, but an imposition of the law as conquerors. Now, bearing in mind that the South has actually lost half of the territory it claimed as its own; that, as a "Federation," it is reduced to the Gulf States, the Carolinas, and half of Virginia, with the Federals slowly but surely closing around them, is it to be supposed that any political combination will result in an armistice, neither party being disposed to accede to what the other requires.

Our belief is that the Democrats have no chance of returning their nominee, save in the dissensions of the Republican party; and it is a hopeful sign that Fremont has withdrawn from the contest—at least it is so rumoured—and that his supporters are now urging a unity of vote in favour of Lincoln. The political strength of the Democrats at present may be judged of by the following facts, as very ably summarized by a cotemporary, admirably posted up:

"Wood and Vollandigham muster only twenty-three votes for Seymour, of Connecticut, out of 225. At the present election the Confederate States cannot vote. These have always been the backbone of the Democrats. In 1856 Fremont had a large majority of the Free States. The Slave States defeated him, and elected Buchanan. In 1860 Lincoln swept the Free States, except New Jersey. The division amongst the Democrats gave him California and Oregon; but had the Democrats been united, both these States would have given a democratic vote. At that memorable election the Democrats were divided yet over their whole strength, polled for their different candidates, Lincoln had a majority in Maine of 24,504; New Hampshire, 9115; Vermont, 22,972; Rhode Island, 4537; New York, 50,136;

Pennsylvania, 59,618; Michigan, 23,423; Illinois, 4629; Iowa, 12,487; Wisconsin, 20,202; Minnesota, 9401; Indiana, 5923; Massachusetts, 43,891; Connecticut, 10,292; and Ohio, 20,779. Since 1860 Kansas and Western Virginia have been made States, both of which are certain to support Lincoln's re-election.

"Such was the strength of parties in 1860, since which the Democrats have been losing, the Republicans gaining ground. Generals, such as Dix, Butler, and Grant, members of the Legislature, persons of every condition and rank of life, who have long supported the Democrats, are now to be found in the ranks of the Republicans."

To these elements of strength let us add the moral effect produced by the capture of Mobile and Atlanta, and, all things considered, we may venture to affirm our conviction that Lincoln will be re-elected, though not without a struggle, and that the most important one in the annals of the American Republic.

We cannot more appropriately conclude this article than by quoting from the contemporary\* already alluded to:

"A very few words will dispose of the armistice and convention of which we hear so much.

"The character and conduct of Abraham Lincoln scatter, as far as he is concerned, these rumours to the wind.

"In this country, justice has never been done Mr. Lincoln. Whatever may be his qualification or disqualification for the high office he holds, it is indisputable that he is a man of his word, of great ability, great shrewdness, of decision, of great firmness, and about the last man to be imposed upon by words without meaning. Throughout the war, after once taking a step he has never drawn back. No pressure could induce him to replace M'Clellan in command after removing him. No clamour could induce him to suspend his emancipation proclamation one single hour. His cabinet he has firmly stood by, no matter how abused. Difficulties sufficient to crush an ordinary man, and such perhaps as never surrounded any other ruler, have never daunted him. He has overcome them. After a lengthened struggle he has fastened his grip on the Confederacy, and is shaking it to its very base. Abraham Lincoln has accepted the Baltimore platform, and will abide by it; and whatever M'Clellan may do, if elected, one thing we may be sure of, that during the Presidentship of Abraham Lincoln there will be neither convention nor armistice, unless the Confederates unconditionally offer to return to the Union.

"Should, however, M'Clellan be elected, a very great change must take place before either of the combatants would listen to an armistice: neither is prepared to grant what the other requires.

"As to a convention, the difficulties would be tenfold greater still. M'Clellan might call a convention, but would the seceding States respond? Jefferson Davis makes no sign; his organs flatly say no, not unless, as a preliminary, the independence of the Confederate States is first admitted. This the Federals will never admit, the convention would never meet, it would be an empty dream.

"But there is another stumbling-block in the way, which makes the difficulties more insurmountable still. This has been almost entirely overlooked in this country. The stumbling-block is State rights. Jefferson Davis and the Confederate States say that each State is a sovereign State, which may secede whenever it thinks proper. This the Federals stoutly deny, as it would reduce the States to chaos and society to barbarism. It would be the death-blow to the Union; it would establish a principle which might break up the States into petty republics. Against this doctrine of State rights the Federals have struggled for three years, and before admitting it they will struggle against it three times as many more.

"With the two parties in such antagonism, with altogether different objects in view, it is folly to cry 'Peace, peace,' when there can be no peace till constitutional Government and freedom overcome and crush rebellion and Slavery. This gigantic contest is the irrepressible conflict so long feared and put off; it cannot now be stayed."

#### THE SWISS ABOLITIONISTS.

In our last Summary we adverted to the address of sympathy with the Government at Washington, which had been adopted at a public meeting held at Geneva, and forwarded to the President through the Consul there. We subjoin the text of the address, with the reply, taken from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*:

#### AN ADDRESS FROM SWITZERLAND.

"An immense mass meeting was held at Geneva, Switzerland, on the 9th of July, 'in favour of the Union, and of measures taken by the Government at Washington for the abolition of Slavery,' at which an address was adopted, offering 'the most ardent prayers that, inspired solely by patriotic thoughts, the States still in revolt may range themselves for ever under the star-spangled banner of the Union.' The people of Geneva with all their wishes forward this

\* The Daily News.

movement, because henceforth liberty will be triumphant, without distinction of race, at the North as well as at the South.

"The following is a copy of the address which was adopted, and transmitted to our Government:

"PEOPLE OF THE AMERICAN UNION: The people of Geneva, in meeting assembled at the Electoral Hall, address to the people of the Union brotherly greeting, and testimonials of their lively sympathy.

"The events which are happening in the bosom of the great Republic of the Union have not found the people of Geneva indifferent. It is with painful feelings that they have witnessed the violation of the Federal compact by some States. It is with grief they have seen States forget that federative unity is proclaimed by the Constitution; that such unity was recommended and maintained by the first Presidents of the Union, the immortal Washington, twice elected President, 1789, 1793; John Adams, 1797; Thomas Jefferson, twice elected President, 1801, 1809, &c.

"The people of Geneva offer the most ardent prayers that, inspired solely by patriotic thoughts, the States still in revolt may range themselves ever under the star-spangled banner of the Union. The people of Geneva, with all their wishes, forward their movement, because thenceforth liberty will be triumphant, without distinction of race at the North or at the South.

"The citizens of Geneva recognise that strict solidarity exists between two people; that one of them cannot suffer without the others experiencing a sad counter-blow. Convinced of this truth, in the presence of the civil war which facilitates the projects of the enemies of the American Republic, they believe it to be their duty to give expression to a fraternal word of encouragement to Republicans on the other side of the ocean.

"People of the United States, the only Republic of Europe, Helvetia, has had also her moments of intestine strife and attempts at separation. She has come forth stronger, more united, than before. Those of our cantons which formerly wished to separate would now rise, without distinction, to uphold the Federal compact. It will be the same with the American Union. The Southern States will comprehend that the safeguard of their independence and of their prosperity is to be found in the Constitution—in liberty.

"People of the Union! Soldiers of the entirety of the country! courage and constancy. You have our sympathies, because in defending the Union you also defend liberty—you abolish the odious, crying shame of a part of the United States—Slavery.

"The violation of a part of the Federal Constitution by some States of the Union has caused to the people of Geneva a sentiment the more powerful, because nothing justified that violation. No wrong can be alleged by the Secessionists either against the Federal Government or the Federal compact of the Union. Their conduct is explicable only by the wish to main-

tain Slavery—by the determination to make that essential to the form of government.

"This scheme, we truly hope, will not be realized; but were it so, we think that no European Government, and with stronger reason free Switzerland, would abase itself by acknowledging a Power based upon Slavery.

"People of the Union! the citizens of Geneva, assembled in meeting, address to you their felicitations on the course you pursue to maintain the Constitution inviolate and destroy Slavery.

"The struggle has commenced between two principles—Liberty and Slavery.

"The consequence of victory must be the abolition of Slavery for ever and everywhere.

"Hail, Liberty! Hail, Republic of the United States!"

COMMITTEE ON THE MEETING—James Fazy, Ch. Vogt, Deranyo Guerie, H. Vancher, J. L. Dufour, Moise Pequot, J. Diday, Henri Fazy, Mase Vaufer, J. C. Ducommun, M. Lombard, Pierre Senechand, M. Schwarm, Herm Hug, Mier Becker, Adolphe Catalan, L. Pittara.

"The Secretary of State has responded as follows:

"TO THE PEOPLE OF GENEVA,—I have received from the American Consul who resides at Geneva, and have laid before the President, your fervent, eloquent, and most fraternal address to the people of the United States. By his command I give you thanks in the name of all my countrymen for the timely and appropriate words of sympathy and friendship which you have spoken. Your address adds strength to the already strong claim which binds the first Federal Republic of America to the oldest and foremost Federal Republic of Europe. The people of Switzerland may rest assured, whoever else may fail, that it will not be the people of the United States which will betray the Republican system to foreign enemies, or surrender to domestic faction. With ardent prayers for the preservation of the Constitution, the freedom and the prosperity of Switzerland,

"I have the honour to remain, Citizens,

"Your most obedient and sincere friend,

"WM SEWARD.

"State Department, Washington,

"July 30, 1864."

#### DOMESTIC SLAVERY AND PAWN-AGE ON THE GOLD COAST.

WE have been favoured by the Rev. Elias Schrenk, one of the Missionaries of the *Bâle Evangelical Missionary Society*, with a statement relating to Domestic Slavery and the Pawn System on the Gold Coast, which will, we believe, be interesting to our readers. A few words upon the Society, of which Elias Schrenk is so zealous a member, may not be out of place as an introduction to his brief narrative.

The Society was established in 1815, and is managed by a Committee of at least seven members. Christians of different parts of



the world—Switzerland, Germany, France, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, England, and America—unite in its work of spreading the Gospel among the heathen, and thus promoting the kingdom of God.

The Society has founded a Mission-house at Basle, in which eighty-seven young men are now preparing themselves for Missionary service.

For more than thirty years it has had a Mission on the Gold Coast, West Africa, now under English protection. At the present time forty-nine European Missionaries are labouring there among five negro tribes. Above 200,000 negroes are under the influence of the Gospel, preached by the Basle Missionaries. Nine hundred and sixty-two Christians have been gathered at six principal and eleven out-stations. Schools have been established at every station, and 627 scholars, male and female, of different ages, are instructed in the word of God and useful knowledge. Two of the Missionaries are exclusively engaged in translating the Scriptures into the Accra and Ashantee languages, in both of which the New Testament is completed, and, in the Accra language, also the greatest part of the Old Testament.

In Christiansborg the Missionaries have opened shops for carpenters, joiners, wheelwrights and locksmiths, and instruct about thirty-four young negroes in these respective trades. On the Akwapem mountains they have formed coffee-plantations, and succeeded in inducing the natives to grow this plant. In the Krepe and Krobo district they have for some years past encouraged the natives to plant cotton, and from January to July in the present year 244 bales of clean cotton, each one hundred weight, were shipped from Christiansborg Accra, and sent to England. The natives have been taught to build healthier houses, to dig wells, and to accustom themselves to habits of civilization. The Missionaries have made roads, and are training cattle to draw carts which they have made.

For two years past, one of the principal labours of the Missionaries has been to wage war, not only theoretically, but practically, against slavery and pawning of negroes on the Gold Coast. Standing alone on the coast in this work, they have had much trouble, and been compelled to make many sacrifices, but have been well compensated by increasing success. No slaveholder nor pawnholder can be a member of their congregations.

But though the Mission in Africa is in a promising state, the wants of their other Mission-fields in India and China limit their African Missionary work.

Besides the occupation of these three Missionary fields, a hundred former pupils of the

Basle Missionary School are labouring in North America, Brazil, and among the Germans, Armenians, and Mohammedans in Europe and Asiatic Russia. These brethren are supporting themselves, but remain in connection with the Society.

The Income of the Society	
in 1863 was . . .	£30,722
The Expenses . . .	33,892
Deficit . . . . .	£3,170

In these expenses of 33,892*l.* are not included the expenses of the home boarding-schools for the children of the Missionaries, and the expenses of the invalided Missionaries.

The subjoined is Mr. Schrenks' statement respecting domestic Slavery and the pawn system on the Gold Coast:

"Domestic slavery and pawning of men is a general evil on the Gold Coast. Both the negroes of the tribes residing on the border of the coast, and those who are brought from the interior, are pawned or sold into home slavery. The price of a child is from 3*l.* to 5*l.*, and of an adult about 9*l.* sterling. The rule is that house-slaves seldom obtain their freedom. If any change takes place in their position, they will be sold to another master.

"As wife a master will give to his slave one of his slave-women, in order to secure the children for his property. Were the master to allow the slave to marry a free woman, the children would not be his slaves, but belong to the family of the wife. Therefore the slave, with his whole family, is under the power of his master, who may sell any member of such a slave family, if he likes. If a slaveholder has intercourse with a wife of his slaves, the slave can make no objection. Also, respecting his religion, the slave is subjected to his master's will. He is, for instance, not allowed to send his children to the school without his master's permission.

"In general, slaves are not cruelly treated on the Gold Coast, but still outrages occasionally take place. In such cases the slave could claim the protection of the English Government, but he will have difficulty to find witnesses, and, at all events, he has to fear the revenge of his master; and a slave, therefore, very seldom will bring an action against him.

"Pawning is worse than slavery. In case of the illness or death of a pawn, the family of the deceased is under the obligation to replace him. If a slave dies, he is lost for his master; nobody will replace him; and therefore the interest of the slaveholder secures a better treatment for the slaves than for pawns, to keep them as long as possible. Should a pawn die from ill-treatment, nothing can be lost for the master. A great difficulty for redeeming a pawn is the high interest of 50 per cent. which has to be paid on every loan. If a pawn is pawned to day for 8*l.*, even after but one week, 12*l.* must be paid for his redemption. The property of the negroes consists especially in pawns and slaves. Land is very cheap, and if a negro has money, and he

will (merchants excepted) put it out upon interest, he will buy slaves, or lend the money for pawns.

"This short statement shews that domestic slavery and pawnage are as well a curse for Africa as the export of slaves, because they poison the whole social life of the negroes. A family in debt will very often pawn or sell one of its members, the father his own child, in order to pay debts, very often contracted by fornication, which is practised to a great extent, and fined in money. Also, their ungodly funeral festivals involve them in debts, as great quantities of rum and gunpowder are consumed at these festivals. The writer of this statement, who was for two years engaged in redeeming slaves and pawns, knows by experience that these two sins are the principal reasons of the existence of domestic slavery and pawnage among the negroes, and therefore, slavery and immorality are closely connected. Further, it must be taken in consideration that the living crowded together occasions immorality among the slaves, and ruins very often their family life. The whole system is hindering every progress of Christianity and civilization.

"Christians naturally will treat their slaves better; but the principle of slavery remains always the same: it is depriving a man of his free will, an offence against the special command of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Therefore it is evident that a Mission which tolerates slavery, tolerates a sin. In consequence of this, the Basle Missionary Society, two years ago, commenced abolishing slavery among their Christians on the Gold Coast. In doing so, they encountered many difficulties. At first the negroes could not comprehend the matter: some of the Christians were excommunicated, because they refused to give liberty to their slaves and pawns. More conscientious Christians regarded the case in the proper light. Three of the Missionaries who had been entrusted with this work, have, for the last two years, been obliged to spend much time in it. In some difficult cases, even pecuniary sacrifices had to be made, and have not been withheld.

"This difficult question has at length been practically solved. The native Christians are now required to give letters of emancipation and wages books to their slaves and pawns. From the day they attained their freedom the slave became a debtor for the sum that had been paid for him. After emancipation his master is obliged to pay him regular wages for services performed. At the outset his wages are applied to compensate the master for his redemption. In the interim the slave has, every week, one or two days for himself, so as to be able to earn something, that, when his debt is paid, he may not be entirely without means. By settling the matter so, we do justice to the masters and to the slaves, and lay a foundation for a class of free-labourers. To assist the Christians in creating a class of free-labourers, they are allowed to redeem slaves who are brought to them for sale; but this can be done only with the special consent of the elders of the Christian congregations and the Missionaries, in order that Christians may not become again slaveholders. Those redeemed

slaves will pay the sum of their redemption also by work, as already mentioned. Old slaves of the Christians, who are no more able to work much, receive a letter of emancipation too, but remain with their master, who has to treat them well. In the last two years there were redeemed twenty-four slaves and ten pawns; but in the whole we have redeemed more. Since a number of years the Basle Mission has paid annually 60*l*. to rescue especially those poor children and adults who would have been exported as slaves, or been sold to unmerciful heathens on the Gold Coast. One year ago a Christian convert of the Basle Mission was already bound, and a piece of wood was put in his mouth to prevent him from crying for help. He was already on the way to Ada, a town on the mouth of the river Volta, to be exported probably from Whydah, when the Basle Missionaries heard of this cruelty, and went after the slavetrader, to redeem the poor man, who was in the mean time praying to God to save him from those cruel hands, and God heard him. The wife of this Christian had contracted a debt, and her creditors caught the man, to get their money by selling him. The English Government was involved in the Ashantee war when this case happened, and therefore the slaveholders could not be prosecuted, else they might have been punished.

"It is clear that in all future conversions of slaveholders and pawnholders, the question of emancipation must arise, and therefore the Missionary work in Africa will for some time yet be most arduous.

"If all Missionary Societies would adopt the same principle, the work would be greatly lightened: a public opinion would be aroused against every sort of slavery, and heathens and Christians would see no difference in the course of action of the various Missionaries. It must come to this at last, for the spirit of Christianity is love to one's neighbour, and slavery is in direct opposition to it."

Few persons will read this simple statement, we believe, without appreciating the great importance of the work in which these Basle Missionaries are engaged. The rejection from Christian communion, of slaveholders of any kind is a crucial test, which the American Churches have been rebuked for not applying; which is not acted upon at British Mission stations on the West Coast; yet which has ever been regarded as the vital anti-slavery principle of Missionary enterprise in countries where slaveholding is practised. The fidelity of the Basle Missionaries to this principle entitles them to the support of all who desire to see Slavery in any form thoroughly eradicated; and it is not to be controverted, that if slaveholding be antagonistic to Christianity, the latter cannot be expected to flourish amongst a people whose religious teachers tolerate the former.

The Directors of the *Basle Evangelical Missionary Society*, being in debt 3170*l*. on its last year's account, has issued an appeal for pecuniary assistance, and we have been

requested to promote it. We shall be glad if the few words we have said respecting the Society's efforts commend it to the favour of anti-slavery friends. The Rev. Elias Schrenk, who, after labouring many years on the coast, returns to Europe to recruit his health, has been authorised by the Committee of his Society to collect funds for it. We have read his credentials, and append a copy of them for the satisfaction of the anti-slavery public.

#### AUTHORISATION.

Mr. Elias Schrenk, since 1859 Missionary at Christiansborg, and Chief Treasurer of the stations of the Missionary Society of Basle, on the Gold Coast, Western Africa, now in Europe for the restoration of his health, and, by his own desire, to interest Christian friends in England for the work in which he has so long, and with such praiseworthy zeal, been engaged, is hereby authorised by the managing Committee of the Basle Missionary Society, to invite Christian friends in England to assist them in the work entrusted to them by the Lord, and to solicit and receive donations and subscriptions for the Basle Missionary Society. Any moneys so received by him to be forthwith deposited with R. N. Fowler, Esq., at the banking-house of Messrs. Dimsdale, Drewett & Co., who will hold them for the disposal of the Missionary Society in Basle.

For the Committee of the Evangelical Missionary Society,

ADOLPHUS CHRIST-SARASIN, President of the Committee of the Evangelical Missionary Society.

J. JOSEPHANS, Principal of the Evangelical Missionary Institution at Basle.

Basle, 22nd August 1864.

Contributions in aid of the Basle Mission on the Gold Coast may be paid to R. N. Fowler, Esq., at Messrs. Dimsdale, Drewett, and Co., Bankers, Cornhill, London.

### THE EMANCIPATED NEGROES OF SURINAM.

WE cut the following from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. The information is more recent than any which has lately come into our hands:

"Our readers will remember that last year, by a decree of the Government of Holland, Slavery was for ever abolished in the Dutch colony of Surinam, in South America. There were many pro-slavery papers in the United States which, at that time, took the utmost pains to represent this emancipation movement as detrimental both to the interests of the colony and to the moral condition of the negro. Correspondents of some of them asserted that the day of emancipation had been generally spent by the negroes in drunkenness, and they confidently predicted that

a general demoralization of that class would be the next consequence. Whether any of these letters really proceeded from any competent authority is very doubtful, as the accounts which have been rendered to the Government of Holland by the officers of the colony are highly favourable to the negroes. The reports furnished by the Moravian Missionaries of Surinam agree with the Government reports; and the testimony of these people is the more valuable as they have known the negroes, while slaves, better than any other class of men, and have converted most of them to Christianity. One of these Missionaries, the Rev. T. Van Calker, the superintendent of the Mission work in Surinam, makes the following highly interesting statements on the present condition of the negroes:

"The emancipation of the negro slaves,' he writes, 'has now been fully carried out according to the law of August 8, 1862, and all has gone off better than we had expected. The 1st of October, too, the time appointed for concluding all contracts between the masters and negroes, has passed without bringing any trouble. Up to the end of September there were many estates, particularly on the Commewyne, where no contracts had been made; but previous to the fixed period all was in order there, as had been the case for some time on the Surinam. As soon as the authorities set about acting up to the published decree, on the expiration of the fixed time, viz. removing the negroes to the Crown plantations in cases where no contracts had been made, there was such a haste manifested to comply with the demands of Government, that the Commissioners of the district could hardly get through the work. Now, in the middle of October, there are few negroes who have to be employed by the authorities, though there may possibly be some wandering about without any employment.

"The negroes have not all remained on the same plantations where they lived as slaves. Many have returned to plantations where they had been located before, or have taken service elsewhere. Many, too, have left the sugar plantations, preferring the lighter work in coffee or cotton grounds, so that the production of sugar appears to have decreased. But, in general, no noticeable change has taken place in the colony with regard to its marketable productions. The negroes have remained at their old work, and the cultivation of the plantations continues as before.

"Of course this state of things has not been attended to without some difficulties, but they were less formidable than had been anticipated. If the law of August 3, 1862, had allowed but one month instead of three for concluding all contracts, and the planters had taken advantage immediately of the good spirit shewn by the negroes, and if the law of April 16, 1863, relating to the duties and privileges of those emancipated negroes who were to be placed under direct Government control, had been published in the Negro-English language, all would have gone off smoothly. The negroes appear satisfied with the contracts. All are concluded for the space of one year only, so that the question



arises in our minds as to how matters will stand next year. All must depend on this year's experience on the part of employer and employed; but we have reason to believe that all will go well. Our hopes have not been put to shame thus far. We will therefore leave the future, with trustful hearts, in his hands, who has wrought wonders in Surinam.'

"We have not yet met a single trustworthy statement which would in the least impair the weight of this testimony."

### JAMAICA BAPTIST MISSION JUBILEE.

FIFTY years have passed since the Rev. John Rowe first landed in Jamaica, to commence a Mission among its negro population, an event which has been productive of results so striking, and of such remarkable changes in the social and moral condition of the then enslaved, but now emancipated peasantry of the island, that the pastors and churches have thought it desirable to celebrate it in a suitable manner. Several large meetings have been held in the island, and, among other things, it has been resolved to make the Jubilee year a time of special effort for the extension and improvement of the education of the rising race.

The work proposed to be done is much greater than the people themselves can accomplish. In accordance with a suggestion of the Committee of the *Baptist Missionary Society*, the ministers and churches of the *Jamaica Baptist Union* have sent a deputation to England, and have appointed the Rev. W. Teall to the work of raising, on their behalf, a special Jubilee Fund, to carry out an object of the utmost importance to the future well-being of the island.

The following facts are given in support of the appeal now made; and Mr. Teall, who has laboured in Jamaica as a Missionary for more than twenty years, is prepared to furnish any further information that may be desired.

During the past year there were seventy-three day schools in connection with the Union, having 4352 scholars on the books, with an average daily attendance of 2882. These schools are under the superintendence of thirty-one European and coloured native ministers of the Gospel, and are conducted on the principles of the *British and Foreign School Society*. Hardly one of them is at present self-supporting; and many of them are kept open with the greatest difficulty. In numerous instances the ministers, rather than allow the schools to be closed, have sacrificed a portion of their own inadequate incomes. In very few cases are the salaries which can be offered such as to command the services of efficient teachers.

There are, moreover, many populous districts in which no schools of any kind whatever exist, and where, consequently, the children are growing up in the most deplorable ignorance.

Under these circumstances, an appeal for help is made, with earnest hope and confidence, to the churches of Christ, and to those philanthropic individuals who desire to promote the social, moral, and religious instruction of the negro race.

The following Resolutions have been passed by the Committee of the *Baptist Missionary Society*, with especial reference to the Jamaica Baptist Jubilee:

#### "RESOLUTIONS.

"1. That this Committee, deeply impressed with the importance of securing to the children of the emancipated peasantry of Jamaica the advantages of a good religious education, and being aware of the great and peculiar difficulties which their brethren in that island have to encounter in their efforts to promote it, they feel that, in this the Jubilee Year of the Jamaica Baptist Mission, the churches of Great Britain, and the friends of negro education in general, would express, in a very suitable manner, their gratitude to God for the blessings He has bestowed on the evangelic labours of the past fifty years, and their interest and sympathy with those who continue to carry on the work, by rendering to them their countenance and aid in the present emergency.

"2. That this Committee cordially welcome to this country the Rev. W. Teall, who, at the request of the pastors and churches of the *Jamaica Baptist Union*, has come over as a deputation, to lay before the churches, and the friends of negro education, their urgent appeal for help: they heartily commend him and his special object to the kindest consideration; and they trust that, on his return to Jamaica, he may gladden the hearts of his brethren, and cheer them in their arduous toil, by bearing to them a Jubilee contribution commensurate with the great purpose which they desire to accomplish.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee,

FREDERICK TRESTRAIL, }  
EDWARD B. UNDERHILL, } *Secretaries.*"

In a letter to us, the Rev. W. Teall says:

"I wish to raise this year, as a Jubilee contribution from England, the sum of 3000*l.* at least, to be devoted to the providing of improved and greatly extended means of education; and then I desire to obtain promises of annual subscriptions to the extent of 1000*l.*, to sustain the increased school agency to be thus commenced."

We need scarcely observe that Mr. Teall's object has our cordial sympathy and good wishes for its success. The Jamaica Baptist Mission has always been identified with the anti-slavery cause, and the education and moral elevation of the free people of colour is legitimate anti-slavery effort. We do not hesitate, therefore, to commend Mr. Teall's

mission to the liberal support of the friends of negro emancipation, being deeply impressed with the importance of the work he and his co-adjutors have in hand.

### APPEAL FOR THE FREED MEN.

THE *Freedmen's Aid Society* has issued the following appeal, to which we are happy to give insertion:

#### SPECIAL APPEAL.

### FREEDMEN'S AID SOCIETY.—

#### President:

Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Bart.

#### Treasurer:

Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.

#### Sub-Treasurer:

William Allen, Esq.

#### Honorary Secretaries:

Frederick Tomkins, Esq., M.A., D.C.L.

Rev. Samuel Garratt, B.A.

Rev. John Curwen.

F. W. Chesson, Esq.

#### Bankers:

Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, Tritton, and Co.

Vast numbers of slaves, from the desire of freedom, preferring starvation to bondage, have flocked to the Federal towns and fortresses, destitute of almost every thing, in order to escape from Slavery and its horrors. The able-bodied being driven by the masters to the South, those who have escaped are mostly the feeble, the women, and children, left by their owners to perish in rags and hunger. They have suffered in long marches, have been depressed and afflicted by privations and exposure. In this condition they come in multitudes, their lives often dependent on prompt relief. In the Freedmen's camps of the Mississippi Valley alone there are more than fifty thousand dependent persons. Many thousands more cry for help in other parts. It cannot be doubted that the friends of the negro will be ready in this emergency to aid those who, inspired by feelings of humanity and religion in America, are striving to clothe the naked, to give bread to the starving, and to provide a temporary shelter for the houseless fugitive. Contributions in cash may be sent to any of the above-mentioned gentlemen, or to Dr. Fredk. Tomkins, Library Chambers, Inner Temple, E.C. Clothing and boxes of useful articles may be sent to Johnson, Johnson, and Co., 17, Blomfield Street, Finsbury, E.C.

The following subscriptions, with others, have been received:—

Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart.	£100	0	0
C. Buxton, Esq., M.P.	100	0	0
Lady Buxton	30	0	0
The Dowager Lady Buxton	20	0	0
W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P.	25	0	0
The Chamberlain of the City of London	20	0	0
J. G. Hoare, Esq.	21	0	0

The Dowager Lady Buxton,			
2nd subscription	30	0	0
Robert Charlton, Esq.	20	0	0
George Thomas, Esq.	20	0	0
Samuel Allen, Esq., Hitchin	10	0	0
Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.	21	0	0
Mrs. Margaret Pope, Staines	5	0	0
W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P., 2nd subscription	10	0	0
An Englishman who believes that nothing but the long agitated Slavery question is the real cause of the American struggle	1	0	0

### ANTI-SLAVERY ITEM.

A CONTRABAND'S IDEA OF THE WAR.—One of our prominent business men—a thorough loyalist by the way—while waiting for the cars at a railroad station a few miles out of town, spied a young man of the genus “contraband,” lounging under a shed. Thinking him a good type of his class, our friend employed the time in getting his notions of the war. The following colloquy ensued:

“Well, boy, where do you hail from?”

“Why, boss, when I’m at home, I live out in Michigan.”

“What are the folks in Michigan doing these times? Or, have they all gone to the war?”

“No, not all ob ‘em. Some of dem hab gone to the war, and some stay at home.”

“Well, now, what do you think this war is about? What are they fighting for so much down South?”

With that expression of eye which only a “contraband” can exhibit, accompanied by a peculiar nervous twitching of the lips, he answered:

“Why, down South, dar dey want the coloured people to hoe corn, and do all kinds ob work for nuthing; and our folks North here want ‘em paid for it like white people. So dey’s got fighting about it, I s’pose.”

### Advertisement.

#### BY SUBSCRIPTION.

To be shortly Published,

### HANDBOOK OF THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY.

Compiled by L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

To Subscribers 2s. 6d., Post free.

This “Handbook” will present, in the most succinct form, arranged in alphabetical and chronological order, the history of the abolition of the Slave-trade and Slavery, to the latest period, exhibiting, at a glance, the dates of the various treaties and enactments for their extinction, with other useful statistical information relating to them.